

**Guiding Light**  
**General Kim Jong Il**



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# Guiding Light General Kim Jong Il

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**The respected leader Kim Jong Il of the Korean people**





Great President Kim Il Sung and the respected leader Kim Jong Il meeting Ri In Mo



The respected leader Kim Jong Il guiding the General Bureau of Ryongsong Machine Industries on the spot



The beloved leader Kim Jong Il looking over the exhibition of light industrial goods in Pyongyang City



The beloved leader Kim Jong Il riding in an incline car to visit the pit of the Komdok Mining Complex



The respected leader Kim Jong Il giving field guidance to Chongjin Shipbuilding Yard (Hambuk Shipbuilding Complex)



The beloved leader Kim Jong Il looking over the completed Bridge of Loyalty in Pyongyang City





The beloved leader Kim Jong Il planting a tree on the Reforestation Day



The beloved leader Kim Jong Il among soldiers



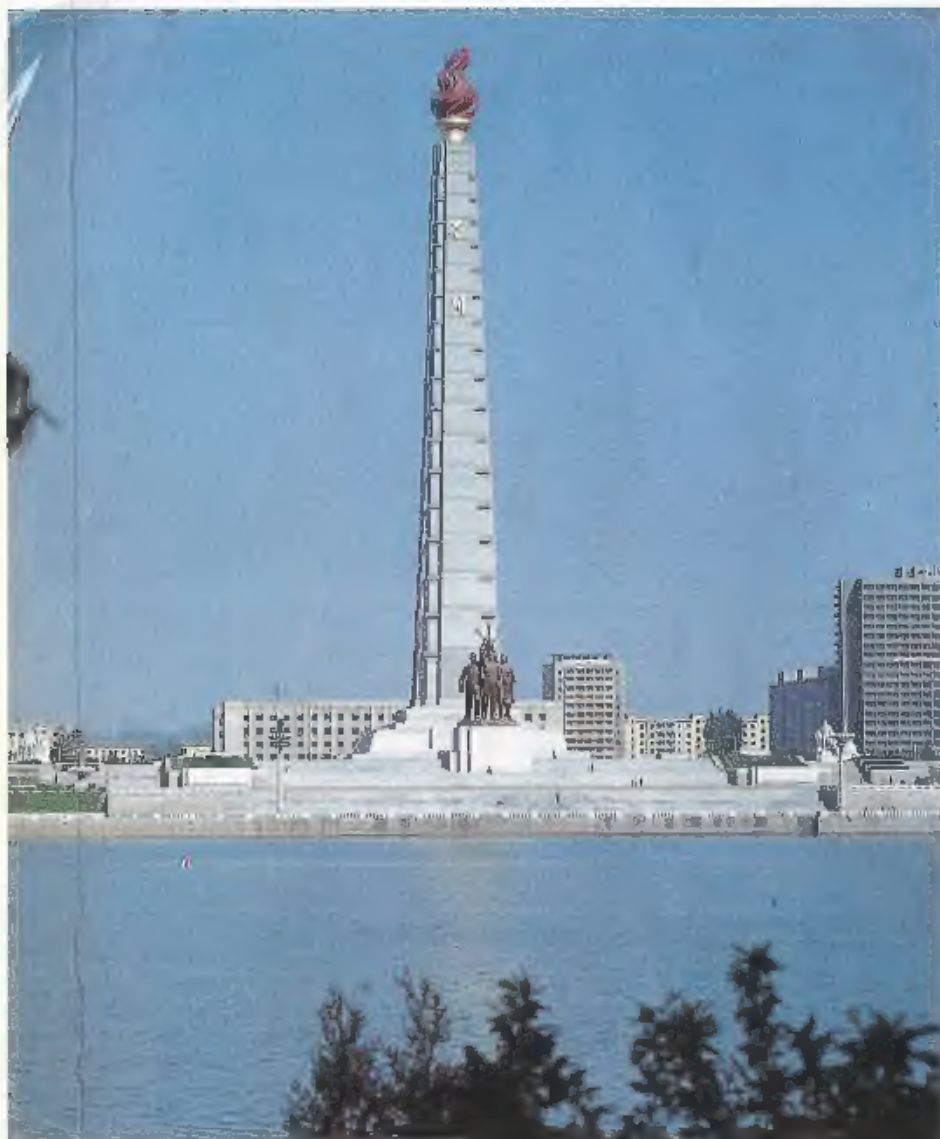
The respected leader Kim Jong Il giving field guidance to the unit of the Korean People's Army





Demonstrators greeting the beloved leader Kim Jong Il with enthusiastic cheers





Tower of the Juche Idea

## Preface

The 20th century is drawing to a close and a new horizon of history is appearing with the 21st century nearly upon us. Looking back over the past one hundred years confirms anew for us the grim reality of history.

Our nation that fell prey to the whirlwind of redivision of colonies by the Great Powers again rose as a light in the East with the appearance of the saviour and sun of the nation.

The past half century has brought the political image of the north Korea into bold relief and witnessed the implementation of the outstanding independent politics and immortal services of President Kim Il Sung and the respected leader Kim Jong Il.

Kim Jong Il, who assisted President Kim Il Sung in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea from the early 1960s, has developed and enriched the Juche idea with unexcelled idea-theoretical wisdom and through energetic research and made it the leading idea of the Juche era. He superbly and resolutely countered the united imperialist forces, wisely led the building of people-centred socialism and achieved the single-minded unity of the whole of society through benevolent and all-embracing politics. He is making great contribution to the movement for the revival of socialism and to the cause of independence in the world.

Kim Jong Il who is imbued with the lofty political idea of "belief in the people as in heaven" and who possesses outstanding leadership ability and a noble personality, has achieved world-wide fame as a promising leader to lead the nation and the age. The history of the era of Kim Jong Il has started in reality as well as in name.

We have written a book to summarize the greatness of the idea, leadership and personality of the respected leader Kim Jong Il who is the supreme leader of the Party, state and revolutionary forces. The authors keenly feel that their vision, knowledge and skill are too poor to do him full justice. The reader is urged between the lines to grasp what the authors have failed to express.

It was the last wish of the respected President Kim Il Sung, as reflecting the unanimous will of the nation, as it is Kim Jong Il's firm will to achieve reunification based on a confederation by great national unity. Our people,



whether they live in the north, south or abroad, should unite behind Kim Jong Il, put an end to the century of division and embark upon a new century with a reunified Korea through the concerted efforts of 70 million men and women.

Taking pride in having the great leader of the nation at the helm and bearing the image of this great man, Kim Jong Il, in mind, we pledge to serve in the patriotic ranks in the sacred cause of national reunification.

February 1995

Kim Nam Jin on behalf of co-authors, Jang Sok, Ri Ju Chol, Jong Hak Su, Kim Ik Byong, Kim Yon Hye, Jon Jia Yong and Kim In Suk.

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### A Brief Biography of the Respected Leader Kim Jong Il

The respected leader Kim Jong Il is Member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.

He was born into a revolutionary family on February 16, 1942. His is a most patriotic and revolutionary family that, from generation to generation, has fought since the 1860s against foreign invaders and occupationists for the independence of the country for the freedom and liberation of the people, as well as for the realization of the cause of socialism and communism.

Kim Jong Il went to primary and secondary schools from September 1950 to August 1960 and attended Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang from September 1960 to March 1964.

He published many works and stoutly defended, developed and enriched President Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas during his university days.

While working in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea from June 1964, Kim Jong Il filled the posts of instructor and section chief and then took over the responsible positions of vice-director and director of a department.

He was elected Secretary of the Central Committee of the WPK in September 1973 and Member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Party in February 1974.

Kim Jong Il has strengthened the Party, while taking measures to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party throughout the Party and throughout society, in order to realize

the cause of imbuing the whole of society with the Juche idea.

He stoutly abided by and defended the revolutionary traditions of the Party established by President Kim Il Sung, and made great efforts to educate Party members and the working people in these traditions.

Kim Jong Il wisely led the struggle to deepen the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—to hasten the transformation of the whole of society after the Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il has made a great contribution to laying the solid material and technical foundations for socialism by skilfully enlisting the entire Party and all the people in the successful fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan and of the Second and Third Seven-Year Plans for the Development of the National Economy.

He has put forward an original Line for bringing about a basic turn in the development of literature and the arts by fully embodying President Kim Il Sung's Juche-oriented idea on literature and the arts, thus ensuring a golden age of Juche art.

Kim Jong Il ensured that the quality of education is radically improved. Under his guidance a revolutionary change took place in scientific research.

He made great contribution to strengthening the defence capability of the country to counter the imperialists' reckless moves to provoke another war.

Kim Jong Il was elected Member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and Secretary and Member of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee at the Sixth Congress of the WPK in October 1980.

He ensured the strengthening of the Party's base after the Sixth Congress of the WPK in order to bring about a decisive turn in modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il is energetically leading the struggle of the Korean people to reunify the country on the principle of national independence.

He is energetically leading the foreign activities of the WPK to strengthen the international communist movement and the world revolution.

He was, after February 1982, elected Deputy to the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK.

He was elected First Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the DPRK in May 1990, its Chairman in April 1993 and Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army in December 1991.

He was awarded the title of Marshal of the DPRK in April 1992.

He has developed and enriched the revolutionary ideas of the working class on the revolution and construction. He has written many works, including *On the Juche Idea*, *On Some Questions in Understanding the Juche Philosophy*, *Let Us Establish More Firmly the Monolithic Ideological System in the Whole Party and Society*, *The Workers' Party of Korea Is a Juche-Type Revolutionary Party Which Inherited the Glorious Tradition of the DPU*, *Let Us Advance under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Juche Idea*, *Let Us March Forward Dynamically along the Road of Socialism and Communism under the Unfurled Banner of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle*, *The Workers' Party of Korea Organizes and Guides All the Victories of Our People*, *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party*, *On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building*, *Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable*, *Socialism Is a Science*, *On the Art of the Cinema* and *On the Theory of Juche-Oriented Literature*.

He has twice been awarded the title of Hero of the DPRK, the Order of Kim Il Sung three times, and many other orders of the DPRK, honorary doctorates of foreign universities, and many orders of other countries for his contributions to the strengthening and development of the Korean and world revolutions and of the international communist movement.



## **I. The Son of the Nation**

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## 1. Acclamation of the People

### 1) Secret Camp on Mt. Paektu and the Mangyongdae Family

From olden times Mt. Paektu has been called a mysterious mountain, because of its wide expanse and majestic physical features. It is spectacular indeed.

In his book *Taedongsugyong*, Jong Yak Yong, a realist scholar of the 18th century, wrote: "Mt. Paektu gave rise to all the mountains in eight provinces and hence is the ancestor of all mountains in Korea."

The name of the majestic snow-capped mountain, Paektu, which has witnessed the long history of Korea, had profound meaning as the ancestral mountain symbolizing the spirit and wisdom of the nation.

The mountains rising over 2,000 metres above sea level around Mt. Paektu are almost bare and have peaks formed of pumice or basalt rocks and so seem to be capped with snow all the year round. Mt. Paektu overlooks Mt. Sobaek, whose name means somewhat lower white mountain, in the southern direction, and another mountain, Kanbaek, lies between Mt. Paektu and Mt. Sobaek.

In the valley between Mt. Kanbaek and Mt. Sobaek there flows Sobaek Stream which rises on Mt. Sobaek. The valley is called Sobaeksu Valley.

Steep-sided peaks rise along the mountain ranges on both sides of Sobaek Stream. These are called *Haedodibawi* (Sunrise Rock), *Ryongmahawi* (Swift Horse Rock), and *Janggombawi* (Long Sword Rock). The peak rising sheer in the Kanbaek Mountain Range, opposite *Ryongmahawi*, is Jongil Peak (former Jangsu Peak).

Saja Peak shaped like a recumbent lion rises southwest of Jongil Peak, and Mt. Kom abounding in bears and Mt. Sono of superb scenic beauty, lie respectively to the west and northwest of Jongil Peak.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il's birth place is found beneath Jongil Peak, which is surrounded by the sacred ancestral mountain Paektu and other high peaks and skirted by the crystal-clear Sobaek Stream. An old saying goes, "Famous mountains and big rivers give birth to noted per-

sons". Men of olden time would have admired his birthplace, saying that it was the best place in the world.

The legendary anti-Japanese hero, General Kim Il Sung, set up the secret camp on Mt. Paektu, the command post for national liberation war, at the foot of Jongil Peak in September 1936, and energetically led the anti-Japanese war in the latter half of the 1930s and in the first half of the 1940s.

The internal and external situation changed drastically on the threshold of the 1940s.

Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the Japanese imperialists attacked Pearl Harbour and started landing operations on the Malay Peninsula on December 8, 1941, and thus the Pacific War broke out.

The Japanese imperialists went all-out to exploit the man-power and plunder the material resources of Korea in order to meet the fast-increasing demands of wartime, and this aggravated the conflict between them and our nation.

It was in this situation that General Kim Il Sung put forward the epochal policy of increasing political and military activities in every way to further the great cause of national liberation. Full preparations on a nationwide scale were carried out, with the secret camp on Mt. Paektu as the centre. Spring was coming with the retreat of the rigours of winter, and the new trend toward national liberation was seething under the ice-sheet of colonial oppression.

February 16, 1942 dawned when the globe was shrouded in the powder-smoke of world war and the gunfire of the anti-Japanese national-liberation war around Mt. Paektu resounded over the earth. The land around Mt. Paektu was covered with deep snow, though spring had set in, but spring was in the air. Kim Jong Il, the eldest son of General Kim Il Sung, the saviour of the nation, and of the anti-Japanese heroine Kim Jong Suk, was born.

The clear Sobaek Stream which had not been icebound all winter murmured as if waiting for this historic day and the whole valley was covered with white frost. A cold wind blew down from Jongil Peak and threw up a silvery spray.

It all seemed nature's blessing. It seemed that Mt. Paektu was rejoicing at his birth.

Kim Jong Il is the son of the ancestral mountain Paektu, bearing its majestic soul and the spirit of Blue Lake Chon.

Climbing Mt. Paektu on July 18, 1968, Kim Jong Il said.

"I heard many times the story of Mt. Paektu from my mother in my



childhood. Mother always said that Mt. Paektu was the place where my father annihilated the brigandish Japanese and where I was born. Therefore, in my childhood I thought that Mt. Paektu was the dearest and most meaningful place in the world.

"Mt. Paektu, which our ancestors called the ancestral mountain from hoary old times, became the sacred mountain of the revolution from the time when our leader launched the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

"Walking within the sight of Mt. Paektu, past the dense forest I feel as if I have opened the gate and entered the yard of my native place."

That day he climbed to the top of the mountain, saying that only by walking up Mt. Paektu could one appreciate sightseeing, tread the soil of Mt. Paektu and enjoy the high-altitude scenery.

Mt. Paektu revealed its imposing view, which had been shrouded in time-honoured mystery, before its beloved son. The blue sky spread with clouds, Lake Chon sparkling deep blue, wherever you look, you see sky and lake. Mountain peaks rise sheer from the lake into the sky or plunge upside down into the water. Mountain ranges and valleys stretching in the north, south, east and west bear the long history of the nation and legends of modern heroes.

Before his eyes spread the majestic views from Mt. Paektu, the imposing natural lava monument into which the sagacity and spirit of Tangun's Korea immune to the storms of history had hardened, it represented an epic of the glorious history of the bloody anti-Japanese struggle.

The strong winds from Paektu, which scatter stones as large as fists, play around his coat like a spring breeze, and Mt. Paektu looks like a pedestal bringing his giant image into bold relief.

"Mt. Paektu is indeed imposing and beautiful. Mt. Paektu is the most famous mountain... The peak of Mt. Paektu reflected in the blue waters of Lake Chon seems to tell of the spirit of our resourceful people and the long history of our country.

"The ablest artist in the world can hardly do full justice to the majestic and sublime image of Mt. Paektu. Even if he could draw this imposing view, how could he give expression to the gripping story of Mt. Paektu?"

His sonorous voice seems to resound over the sacred peaks across Lake Chon. Even if painters fail to do justice to the sublime image of Mt. Paektu, his personality reflects its majestic appearance.

Many are said to be seized with wonder. They experience vertigo, they

shudder, and are filled with terror and a feeling of being dwarfed while ascending Mt. Paektu. But for him who was born and grew up on Mt. Paektu, it is the back yard of his dear birthplace, the pride of beautiful and imposing Korea and the source of national wisdom and glory. He, the son of Mt. Paektu, is indeed a Mt. Paektu-type man resembling Mt. Paektu.

President Kim Il Sung said, "When I look at Mt. Paektu, I think of Comrade Kim Jong Il. He is the son of Mt. Paektu. Mt. Paektu is his native place and cradle which infused him with boldness. He quite resembles Mt. Paektu in ideas, character, inclinations and habits. Its spirit permeates him body and soul. Comrade Kim Jong Il is indeed a Mt. Paektu-type man."

Kim Jong Il is the son of Mt. Paektu, which represents the history, philosophy and spirit of Tangun's Korea and, at the same time, is the son of the Mangyongdae family with its lineage of patriotism.

The family producing and bringing up a person is of great significance for the formation of his or her personality.

It is natural that a patriotic family gives birth to patriots, since man's qualification and personality are a social attribute derived from social education, including home education. Here is a passage stating this truth from President Kim Il Sung's *Reminiscences*:

"It is an immutable law of nature that an apple tree bears only apples and a pear tree only pears. There is no difference between this law and the law of society. Accordingly a new generation, born with the soul of Mt. Paektu, grows up on the land of Mt. Paektu."

Men and women who come from the lineage of patriotism and receive patriotic education are apt to become patriots.

The Mangyongdae family into which Kim Jong Il was born is the patriotic family which gave modern Korea a prominent place in the stream of world history.

Father President Kim Il Sung who was born into the patriotic and revolutionary family of Mangyongdae in Pyongyang on April 15, 1912, an early year of disgrace when the country was being trodden on by the Japanese occupatonists, was the liberator of the nation and initiator of Juche-oriented socialism. He crossed the Amnok River at the age of 13, making a firm pledge that he would not return home without making Korea independent.

The President formed the Down with-Imperialism Union, the first genuine communist revolutionary organization in our country, on October 17, 1926, and pointed out the road to be followed by the nation by clarifying

the profound truth of the Juche idea which is a landmark in the ideological history of mankind. He realized the historic cause of national liberation by leading the 20-year-long anti-Japanese revolution to victory.

President Kim Il Sung successfully carried out the three tasks of building the Party, the country and the army and democratic reforms in a very short time and creditably defended the dignity and sovereignty of the country in the war against the allied forces of the imperialists. He built a socialist power based on independence, self-reliance and self-defence on the wartime ruins and established the best people-centred Juche socialist system.

He took a new turn on the road to national reunification by making strenuous and unremitting efforts to reunify the country divided by foreign forces in the strained and complicated situation, strengthened the world socialist movement and nonaligned movement, guided as he was by the ideas of independence, peace and friendship. All in all, he made immortal contributions to the cause of independence for mankind.

He is admired as a veteran of veterans of world politics by progressive mankind for his distinguished services in the establishment of Korean-style socialism and in carrying out the cause of independence of the world, and he enjoyed absolute authority as the leader of the age of independence.

He was always among the people and shared joys and sorrows with them, adopting "belief in the people as in heaven" for his motto throughout his revolutionary life. He regrettably passed away on July 8, 1994, at the age of 82, on his way to give field guidance, which he continued without letup all his life, taking the "train bound for the people".

Kim Jong Suk, mother of Kim Jong Il, was born into a patriotic family in Osandok, Hoeryong Sub-County, Hoeryong County, North Hamgyong Province on December 24, 1917.

Her tragic plight of statelessness in a colony, and the patriotic education given by her parents made her embark on the road of the anti-Japanese revolution in her early years. She joined the Children's Vanguard, the paramilitary revolutionary organization of children and youth in September 1931, took part in the harvest and spring uprisings in Jiandao in 1931 and 1932. She was admitted to the Young Communist League in July 1932 and joined the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in September 1935. She was an anti-Japanese heroine who always devotedly fought in many big and small battles and worked hard among the masses and in underground struggle. At

the same time, she was a distinguished leader in the women's movement who energetically worked for building a new country and for women emancipation after liberation.

Kim Jong Suk was a paragon among revolutionaries who laid down her precious life for national liberation, for the welfare of the country and for President Kim Il Sung. She was the sagacious daughter and benevolent mother of the nation who commanded respect and was revered by all for her ardent love of the people, her devoted services to them, her lofty revolutionary ethics and her noble qualities.

Kim Hyong Jik, grandfather of Kim Jong Il, was a professional champion of the independence movement who graduated from Sungul Middle School in Pyongyang. He was an outstanding leader of the anti-Japanese national liberation movement in our country, an organizer of the Korean National Association (formed on March 23, 1917), and played a pivotal role in the "105 Men Society Incident", recorded as the biggest incident in the anti-Japanese independence movement before and after the March First Movement.

Kang Pan Sok, grandmother of Kim Jong Il, was a patriot who assisted Kim Hyong Jik and their son President Kim Il Sung in their anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in every way and an outstanding leader of the Korean women's movement who formed the Anti-Japanese Women's Association in Fusong in China on December 26, 1926, the earliest revolutionary women's mass organization in Korea. She became its first chairwoman.

Kim Hyong Gwon, his great-uncle, was arrested by the Japanese imperialists in September 1930, while waging a struggle in a small armed group in the homeland, upholding General Kim Il Sung's line of armed struggle. He died in Mapo Prison in Seoul. His uncle Kim Chol Ju joined the Saenal Chidren's Union, the first communist children's revolutionary organization in Korea, in 1926 at the age of ten, and later died a heroic death in the fierce engagement with Japanese troops in June 1935 near Shurengou in Yanji County in China.

His two maternal uncles were ardent patriots who laid down their precious lives in the bloom of their youth in the anti-Japanese war for national liberation.

Never known before in history was the like of this patriotic and revolutionary family whose members all embarked on the road of patriotism of their own accord. They had been buried in alien hills and fields in the early



years of their life, and the whereabouts of their graves had been unknown. Coming from this patriotic family, the likes of which have never been known in history, Kim Jong Il was born on the sacred ancestral mountain which bears the traditions and soul of the nation. He was born as a herald of the fast-changing era.

That was why the nation greatly rejoiced over his unusual birth and entertained great expectations of him.

## 2) The Leader of the Nation Acclaimed by the People

Kim Jong Il who, possessed of an extraordinary, inquiring mind, became versed in the Juche idea and in the mental and cultural heritage of mankind through energetic research, graduated from Kim Il Sung University in the spring of 1964 and began to work in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea from June 19 of that year, and thus embarked on a new road of political activity.

Over thirty years have elapsed since then. Viewed in retrospect, the situation in the mid-1960s was such that the anti-socialist moves and provocative machinations against north Korea on the part of the imperialist United States had become more pronounced, while the opportunists who had raised their heads within the international communist movement increased pressure in every way. Under these circumstances the anti-Party alien elements who held key posts in the Workers' Party of Korea covertly and overtly hindered the establishment and consolidation of the monolithic ideological system and unified leadership system within the Party, under the slogan of "collective leadership".

Kim Jong Il who paid keen attention to the complicated internal and external situation, set it as the primary task to ensure the unity and purity of the revolutionary ranks in assisting President Kim Il Sung, and to accelerate the revolution and construction with concerted and consolidated internal strength.

He strengthened the unified leadership of the President and achieved firm unity in thought and purpose and the cohesion of the Workers' Party of Korea through the struggle to shatter the anti-Party revisionists.

In the ten years when he consecutively held the office of instructor, section chief, vice-director, director and Secretary of the Party Central Com-

mittee, Kim Jong Il defended President Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas and formulated them into the integrated system of Juche idea, theories and methods through energetic ideological and theoretical activity. At the same time he acquired the art of seasoned popular leadership of President Kim Il Sung and embodied the noble virtues and qualities of the President who had dedicated his all for the people.

Leadership over Party building and the epochal turn in socialist construction as a whole in these ten years gave the north Korean people firm faith to entrust him entirely with the fate of socialism and the future of the nation and to look up to and follow him with absolute trust and respect.

In short, this attitude of theirs to Kim Jong Il can be ascribed to his distinguished service and admirable leadership.

The north Korean people who have experienced and confirmed his wise leadership and meritorious service in practice and have come to respect him from the bottom of their hearts, to give him the friendly honorific title "Dear leader" and to follow him.

The north Korean people's deep respect for and firm faith in Kim Jong Il at last condensed into the unanimous will to acclaim him the successor to President Kim Il Sung.

The Party Central Committee was flooded with petitions requesting that Kim Jong Il should be acclaimed successor to President Kim Il Sung in pursuance of the unanimous will of the people, petitions which were sent by all organizations of the Workers' Party of Korea, different government departments, public establishments, public organizations (working people's organizations), scientific, educational and cultural institutions, the press, factories, enterprises, cooperative farms and the People's Army.

On February 13, 1974 the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea was opened in an exceptionally solemn atmosphere. An urgent motion was presented in addition to the pre-arranged agenda.

A veteran of the anti-Japanese war who held a key post in the Party Central Committee proposed Kim Jong Il as Member of the Politburo Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. Immediately, stormy applause burst out in the meeting hall.

President Kim Il Sung, who was presiding over the meeting, was lost in thought for a moment, then expressed the opinion that it would be better to table the question for the time being since Kim Jong Il was still young.

The veteran rose from his seat again and said, "It is the demand of the revolution and the ardent desire of the entire people to elect Comrade Kim Jong Il Member of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. You said that he was too young, but what does it matter, whether he is young or not? You led the Korean revolution to victory when you were as young as Kim Jong Il, didn't you? It concerns the fate of revolution and its future. So I hope that you will give it more thought."

Another member of the Political Committee rose and, agreeing with his opinion, again requested President Kim Il Sung to think better of it.

The President still kept silent. Another grey-haired member of the Political Committee who had taken part in the anti-Japanese revolution rose with anxiety and remarked, "Leader, I regret that we are old. You must have plucky young comrades to assist you. Only then will our revolution advance vigorously in a youthful spirit, isn't that so?"

Each word of the entreaty of the grey-haired veteran, who had been carried across rivers on the back of the father leader, irresistibly carried the weight of the years gone by. The cause of independence of the nation launched on Mt. Paektu had reached the stage at which the generation changes.

The respected President who listened to the repeated proposals of the members of the Political Committee and looked over the meeting hall at last expressed his approval, saying that he was obliged to comply with the opinion of all members of the Political Committee if they insisted.

Thus, going through the formal procedure of seeking approval of the participants, the meeting acclaimed Kim Jong Il Member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, definitely making him the sole successor to the revolutionary cause of Juche. With the unanimous support and at the desire of the whole Party and the entire nation, Kim Jong Il was acclaimed head of the Workers' Party of Korea and promoted to leader of the nation thus assuming this heavy responsibility. But he made his first public appearance six years later at the Sixth Congress of the WPK which was held for five days from October 10, 1980, when the north Korean people rejoiced over his being elected successor to the revolutionary cause of Juche and the world focused its attention on the congress, showing great interest in the question of the election of the successor to the leader in Korea.

The unanimous comment at home and abroad on his prominent person-

ality with insight and wisdom shining in his eyes was that he is an outstanding man overflowing with the soul of the nation and, as people say, with the spirit of Paektu.

## 2. He Is Possessed of Literary and Military Accomplishments, Loyalty and Filial Piety

It is said that the ideal social being should be possessed of knowledge, virtue and a strong physique. Only when one has broad knowledge and a strong physique can one create mental and material wealth; and only when one has high moral reputation can one have good relations with people.

The image of a great man presupposes the possession of knowledge, virtue and bravery. These are the chief of the five qualities — knowledge, virtue, faith, bravery and stoutness — which the ancient Chinese strategist Sunzi regarded as essential for a commander. The leader should have knowledge, resourcefulness, high moral reputation, a kind heart, a strong physique and bravery.

But in modern times, with an incomparably high level of social organization, the possession of literary and military accomplishments, loyalty and filial piety are required as the ideal value standard. These are essential for the successor who is to inherit and realize the revolutionary cause advanced by the leader of the working class. Literary and military accomplishments, loyalty and filial piety in the modern sense are regarded as the qualities of a leader, and these are more profound and broader than "knowledge, virtue and a strong physique" or "knowledge, virtue and bravery".

Seen from the viewpoint of the revolutionary cause of the working class and the image of the leader, the latter's successor should show both loyalty and filial piety towards the leader who advanced the great cause of independence, not only as the leader of the nation but also as father. Only then is it possible to ensure purity of the ideas and leadership of the leader and carry forward and realize his great cause without deviation.

At the same time only when one is possessed of both literary and military accomplishments can one lead the revolution and construction skillfully and defend the sovereignty of the nation.



This by no means implies that when one fills the post of leader literary and military accomplishments, loyalty and filial piety are possessed by him of his own accord or that he can possess these qualities by wish alone. Only when he has natural endowments and cultivates himself with rock-firm will and faith can he be possessed of literary and military accomplishments, loyalty and filial piety.

### 1) The Loyalist of Loyalists and Dutiful Son of Dutiful Sons

At the reception given by the respected President Kim Il Sung on June 18, 1988 Cambodian King Sihanouk told him that his impression of dear leader His Excellency Kim Jong Il was that he was extremely loyal and fully devoted to President Kim Il Sung.

President Kim Il Sung agreed with his opinion that Kim Jong Il was faithful to the country and the people and a dutiful son. He gave a new appraisal of the idea of loyalty and filial piety, saying that the words "loyalist" and "dutiful son" derived from feudal Confucian doctrine, but loyalty to the country and being dutiful to one's parents are good things and cannot be regarded as bad.

When the question of loyalty and filial piety is closely examined, loyalty to the country and to genuine people's leader's manifestation of true patriotism, and being dutiful to one's parents is a moral principle to be observed in a society where the people are the masters.

Viewed in retrospect, throughout history people have always shown intense loyalty to their country. This is called patriotism. Homer's *Iliad* is a poem in praise of the ancients' loyalty to their slave-owning society. As feudal centralization accelerated in the Middle Ages, the concept of state was stressed with the intensifying of relations between lord and subject. During this period the notion of country was generally bound up with the idea of halowing the lord and, consequently, loyalty to the lord was considered loyalty to the state, namely, patriotism.

But loyalty to the lord under anti-popular feudal monarchism with its strict caste system was forced loyalty to the lord and, consequently, "loyalty to the lord and love of the country" was nothing less than forced official logic.

The new view whereby loyalty to the leader and love of the country

coincide is possible only when a genuinely popular leader devoted to the people appears in a society where the independence of the people is secured.

In the social system of north Korea where the people have become masters of society and are greatly respected, with the materialization of the idea of "belief in the people as in heaven", loyalty to the leader is regarded as the supreme manifestation of patriotism and as the primary principle of the national ethic. This is the precious outcome which the people have accepted as faith of their own accord through their experience, rather than an outcome logic. Loyalty to the leader implies conscience, morality and livelihood of the people. Loyalty to the leader as a value in the society of north Korea equals devotion to the consolidation of independence and the welfare of the nation.

Hence, the person who embodies loyalty to the leader is elected successor to the leader, and such a one is a paragon of loyalty.

Actual experience had proved that when a successor who regards loyalty to the leader as his historic mission appears the revolutionary cause is steadily pursued. Otherwise, the revolutionary traditions the leader put his whole heart into building fade and degenerate, and eventually revolutionary gains are lost.

Loyalty to the leader is the first qualification essential for the successor and his life and soul. In this sense, the Korean nation has capital luck in having the loyalist of loyalists who embodies loyalty to President Kim Il Sung on the highest plane, as the leader of the nation to inherit the cause of independence.

Kim Jong Il gave his impressions when he was elected leader of the Party at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea as follows.

"At this time at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea I feel the great expectations the entire people place on me.

"Generally speaking, to be loyal to the leader is my mission.

"In the future, I will stoutly defend, carry forward and develop the revolutionary ideas of the leader and the revolutionary traditions he built up.

"I will strengthen and develop the Party founded by the leader and make it his Party for ever. I shall enlist the whole Party, the whole country and the entire nation in the struggle to realize his revolutionary cause.

"In short, it is my general aim to carry on the revolutionary cause of Juche begun by the leader through the generations.

"This is my pledge before the leader, before the Party and before our comrades."

The key question in judging loyalty to the leader is whether or not the ideas of the leader are defended and abided by. Whether the successor is a genuine loyalist or not is decided by whether or not he stoutly defends and glorifies the ideas of the leader in pursuing the revolutionary cause of the leader.

Kim Jong Il has formulated President Kim Il Sung's ideas into an integrated system of ideas, theories and methods of Juche. He has made the Juche idea the accepted leading idea of the independence era both in name and reality by developing and enriching it with new principles and content as required by the present time and by the developing revolution, and thus shows his loyalty to President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Jong Il always places in the centre of his thought and practice what President Kim Il Sung intended and was concerned about, and it has become his historic mission to realize the leader's ideas.

Under his outstanding leadership there has been a turning point in the field of literature and the arts in north Korea which formerly had failed to keep abreast with the leader's intentions, and a golden age of literature and the arts called "Renaissance in the 20th century" has emerged. Great success has been achieved in economic construction by making a breakthrough in the implementation of economic policy through the mass mobilization movement. These instances fully prove Kim Jong Il's loyalty to President Kim Il Sung.

The biography of Kim Jong Il tells impressive stories of how devotedly he worked from his childhood for the safety and long life in good health of President Kim Il Sung.

This is the story of what happened in October 1949 several days after his mother died. The leader was up until dawn clearing up belated business on his return home from over 20 days' field guidance in the provinces. The chirping of a flock of sparrows was heard through the windows, but some time after everything became quiet. Walking up to the window and looking out, the President saw his son swinging a long pole among the trees in the garden.

Kim Jong Suk used to drive away sparrows with the pole so as not to disturb the President's morning sleep. Now his young son had taken up the pole and was driving away the sparrows.

One day around that time, he climbed the fruit trees in the garden, bearing a small saw at his waist, and cut off the branches he thought in the way when the President went out for a walk.

Here is another incident. After living away from the leader, he came to the supreme headquarters in the summer of 1952. He spent half a day clearing away the stones and leveling the path across the garden where the leader used to walk.

One day in mid-August 1963, Kim Jong Il was accompanying President Kim Il Sung across Fuchi Pass in the area around Mt. Paektu on his return home from field guidance. Kim Jong Il, who was impatiently watching the President who had been engrossed in business on the train all day, suggested at near midnight to the accompanying official that the train be stopped in a quiet station for the President to take a little rest. The train stopped in a small station and the President fell asleep. Then Kim Jong Il got down from the train and asked whether the electric light near the passenger train could be switched off. Then he thought that if that light was switched off, all the lights on the same line in the station yard would be switched off, so he went into the carriage and drew the curtains over the windows. Then he said that when the leader woke up he might ask where he was and then it would be good if the station yard was lighted, and he suggested that the lights be not switched off. Some time after, a whistle was heard from afar. Hearing this, he suggested to the accompanying officials that if prearrangement was made between the operation director and engine driver, trains might pass through the station without blowing their whistles.

Thus, that night all the trains passed through the station quietly without giving a whistle.

The sudden death of President Kim Il Sung must have been a tremendous shock and sorrow to him who always worried and made every effort to ensure the President's safety and a long healthy life and to give him pleasure. It must have been as if the sky had fallen and the earth sunk. The ceremony of bidding the last farewell to President Kim Il Sung and the memorial service he arranged, although he was filled with the bitterest grief, proved that Kim Jong Il was an extremely dutiful son.

The Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun*, dated July 20, 1994, wrote, "According to the traditions of the Korean nation, it is the custom for the principal mourner not to speak at the funeral ceremony, and in line with that custom the successor Kim Jong Il did not give a memorial address."



Concerning the personality of Kim Jong Il as dutiful son, in connection with the death of the great leader, Eastern, the vice-director of the Korean Peninsula Problem Institute at Columbia University, gave his impressions in the newspaper *Yomuri Shimbun* dated July 24, as follows:

"It is impressive that he assumed the posture of a perfect, dutiful son. He impressively maintained the posture of the traditional, dutiful son of Korea."

"A dutiful son always lives for his father. He does not mind what concerns him himself, always thinks about what is in his father's mind and always assists his father standing by him without stepping out in front of him."

"According to the Western way of thinking, it may be somewhat strange that he does not appear in the foreground of diplomacy, but in the light of the traditions of the Korean nation it is exemplary behaviour of a dutiful son."

Kim Jong Il's filial piety to President Kim Il Sung is the intense filial piety of son toward his father and, at the same time, differs from conventional filial piety in that it became one with absolute loyalty to the leader of the revolution and father of the nation as fount of ideas and the centre of unity. His wholehearted loyalty and filial piety carry forward the tradition of loyalty of the Mangyongdae family, and were cultivated by mother Kim Jong Suk so that they became part of his natural disposition and firm faith and will, giving him the political philosophy of the leader as the centre. This is its characteristic feature distinct from loyalty and filial piety in general. His unexcelled greatness stands out in bold relief in that he is possessed to the highest degree of both loyalty and filial piety.

## 2) He Is Versed in the Literary and Military Arts

On close scrutiny, human history seems to have moved in one direction of social development in general construction and war, creation and destruction.

As the whole process of social construction is generally the history of the creation of mental and material wealth, so the history of war is the history of wars to defend one's own and to take away territory and wealth of other countries. Construction involves the two factors of physical and mental labour, whereas war involves the two factors of military force and military strategy. In this light both construction and war can be said to be products of physical and mental energy. It is common sense, evident to everyone that knowledge, which is intellectual ability for social construction, and

military strategy, which is intellectual ability for the execution of war, are two fields which are quite distinct from each other.

It is difficult to possess knowledge in the different fields of the creation of mental and material wealth. It is more difficult to be versed in both the literary and military arts. Hence, from olden times, the civil official versed in political administration was called a noted minister, and the military officer versed in military affairs was called a famous general, whereas the outstanding personage who was versed in both the literary and military arts was called "general on the battlefield and minister at home."

But there is no need to say that at the stage of primitive civilization, when the birth, change and development of all things were attributed to the doings of gods of heaven and earth, the fame of a civil official cannot be compared with that of learned people of today, when the whole globe can be circled in a day and man is conquering space. The military officers who commanded battles for castle, when mounted warriors fought with bows and arrows, spears and old-type guns, also cannot bear comparison with the commanders of modern three-dimensional war fought with technologically advanced weapons. The three great conquerors of the world, Alexander, Genghis Khan and Napoleon, ended their lives in wars of conquest, but their military fame was achieved against the historical background of those days.

In modern times, the development of science is beyond human imagination in its breadth, depth and tempo; the military theories, tactics and strategy of modern war are so highly developed that it is hard for ordinary brains to understand them. Moreover, politics, science and military affairs are interrelated as never before in history and the political and military situation is so complicated and acute that over 140 local wars and military conflicts have been recorded in the world since World War II. The actual situation brings out in bold relief the possession of both literary and military arts by the leader as the key factor guaranteeing the existence of the country and nation and national prosperity.

In this sense, it is very fortunate for our nation that it elected the peerless men possessed of both literary and military arts as the leader of the nation to succeed President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Jong Il's scholarship is admirably profound and many-sided. As a student at Kim Il Sung University, he made an enthusiastic study of Juche-oriented political economy, British classical economics, Marxist-Leninist economics and the history of economic ideas. He made a great contribution

to the development and enrichment of Juche-orientated economics by publishing *On the Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature* (January 1962), *Place and Role of the County in the Building of Socialism* (March 1964), and other famous treatises. He established the economics which embodies the Juche idea.

He is an outstanding authority on philosophical thought. He was especially distinguished in philosophic thinking from childhood. He enthusiastically devoured philosophical books of all ages and from all countries, and became versed in all philosophical concepts, principles and systems from the ancient philosophies to those of modern times, and in the philosophical trends of all ages and all countries. As he had profound knowledge of philosophy, he could scientifically induce the original Juche-orientated philosophy and locate its place in the history of philosophy from the viewpoint of inheritance and renovation of preceding philosophy. Only with such philosophical wisdom could he publish many famous works on philosophy, including *On Some Questions in Understanding "The Communist Manifesto"* and *On the Juche Idea*, and render service in originally formulating Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas.

In addition, he is well-read in the history of all countries and is the personifier of national traditions who rectifies the distorted history of the nation and glorifies the nation's best traditions.

He is a genius in literature and the arts. He has newly established the Juche-orientated theory on literature and the arts by publishing *On the Art of the Cinema* (April 1973), *Juche-Orientated Theory of Literature* (January 1992) and other masterpieces. He has brought about a golden age of literature and the arts and has shown progressive mankind the road to a genuine popular literature and the arts by integrating the experience of the creation of works of literature and the arts and their viability.

He is a genius in architecture who has established the theory of the creation and formation of Juche-oriented architecture and a method of guidance through *On the Art of Architecture* (May 1991) and many other works. He has wisely guided the erection of the monumental buildings of the age and turned north Korea into a country of architectural splendour.

Kim Jong Il is an outstanding scholar with knowledge not only of politics, economics, history, literature and the arts, but also of education, public health, sports and other fields of social life, and of all fields of science.

Kim Jong Il is a peerless, brilliant commander possessed of outstanding

scholarly accomplishments and superb strategy. He is a military authority who inherited the military wisdom of General Kim Il Sung, the brilliant, legendary commander of the anti-Japanese war, the mere mention of whose name struck terror into the hearts of the men of the one-million strong Japanese Emperor's army, and the wisdom of Kim Jong Suk, the famous anti-Japanese heroine. The swaddling clothes which covered his body at his birth were from a military uniform, what he used to hear was the sound of gunfire and what he used to see was secret camps, columns of marching soldiers and the field of fierce battle. Even after liberation of the nation he practised shooting following his parents from childhood, and in the days of the June 25 war, the waging of ruthless modern war became engraved on his memory. Already in his university days he saw clearly that modern politics cannot be successful without an army, and that in the light of the geopolitical location of Korea it is impossible to ensure safety of the nation without attaching importance to military affairs and without being versed in military strategy. He studied the history of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the Juche-orientated tactics and strategy and, at the same time, the history of ancient and modern wars and tactics and strategy. While accompanying President Kim Il Sung on his field guidance to the units of different branches of the army and army services, he confirmed the military knowledge he had accumulated. In these days he developed a new military theory, tactics and strategy based on the Juche idea and the Juche-orientated war method suited to the requirements of modern war and the topographical feature of Korea. The far sightedness and greatness of Kim Jong Il as a military genius are seen in that he has strengthened the Korean People's Army so that it has become a strong, matchless army, and has turned north Korea into an impregnable socialist stronghold. These are the shining services he has rendered to the nation.

### 3. Being Blessed with Leaders

From olden times, man wanted to have the good luck to gain position, fame, wealth and other material and mental satisfactions, and liked to



express this briefly in the words "good fortune."

But it is difficult for every man to enjoy good fortune in all realms of life. So in this sense the term is usually modified with an attributive like "the five fortunes of life" or "I want you to enjoy much fortune."

There may be different kinds of fortune a person enjoys, like being blessed with wife, husband or friends. There may be people born with fortune, but all kinds of fortune concern the individual alone.

It is the greatest fortune of fortunes and the source of all fortunes ensuring the welfare and prosperity of generations to come for a nation or state as a social community lasting as long as human existence to be blessed with a leader. That is why Korean people speak with pride that the Korean nation is a nation blessed with leaders.

The Korean nation is a courteous, dignified, and united homogeneous nation which has created a brilliant culture ever since Tangun founded the country and has made a great contribution to the development of human civilization. But retracing the long history of the nation we find that our country, sandwiched as it is among big powers, long underwent vicissitudes. However, our nation is now famed in the world as a proud nation which has great national power and high prestige and is leading the cause of independence of mankind.

Then what is the source of national prosperity and what has made the country the powerful state of Juche?

I would be right to say that it is because our nation has a peerless hero, an outstanding leader, for the first time in the 5,000-year long history of the nation.

President Kim Il Sung, who was possessed of inborn ideological wisdom, unusual leadership ability and noble virtues, evolved the people-centred Juche idea, showed the road to be followed by the nation and the age, pioneered the cause of Juche and opened a new era of independence. Thus he glorified Korea whose name had been erased from the world map.

Having Kim Jong Il who had been elected the successor to the Juche revolutionary cause by the desire of the whole nation, the north Korean people have set up a landmark of prosperity in the history of the nation and became convinced of the bright future for national reunification and for the generations to come.

It is a blessing that only our nation enjoys that Kim Jong Il was elected

leader of the cause of national independence to succeed the great leader Kim Il Sung.

## 1) Although the Leader Passed Away

At twelve o'clock on July 9, 1994, sad news from Pyongyang was reported throughout the globe. It was reported that President Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Head of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the outstanding leader of the cause of independence in the world, died suddenly at two o'clock on the previous day.

It was a surprise to everyone, like a bolt from the blue. Only a few days before, President Kim Il Sung, looking as healthy as ever, energetically engaged in diplomatic activity by receiving former US President Carter, and gave field guidance to cooperative farms in Pyongyang City and South Phyongan Province. Two days before his death, on July 6, he presided over a constructive meeting of economic executives. He had embarked on the road of revolution at the age of 13 with a firm determination to liberate the country, following the bloody uphill road beset with trials for national and class liberation and human emancipation under the banner of the Juche idea, and built a people's paradise for the generations to come to enjoy happiness in north Korea.

He made strenuous and inexhaustible efforts to bring a life worthy of mankind, and happiness and prosperity to the people who in the past had been badly off and much wronged. He was really the benevolent father of the people, born to serve them and who devoted his whole life to them.

All sympathized with the political philosophy of "belief in the people as in heaven" which was the President's motto, admired his noble services, which could be compared to a golden tower, and admired the principle of independence and unyielding faith which he abided by in the complicated political upheaval of the 20th century, and bowed to his high moral reputation and personality.

On meeting President Kim Il Sung once, Kanemaru Suga, a veteran of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, respectfully called the President his brother, saying "I was charmed by him, as man to man." So in Japanese political circles he became called "Kim Kanemaru" with the name of the President attached to his.

After meeting Kim Il Sung, former US President Jimmy Carter, who had been Korean political enemy in the past, gave his impressions as follows.

"President Kim Il Sung is a person who combines the qualities of the most famous firs, US President George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. No challenger would stand a chance against him.

"From the moment I met President Kim Il Sung I was entirely charmed by him. I came to know that he really loves peace."

The German woman writer Luise Rinser who has met many world personages was also charmed by him. At the news of the President's death, she expressed her sorrow, saying, "Every day I am blinded with tears and can do nothing. I am more pained than when I lost my father and my husband. I feel as if part of my heart has dropped off. I will leave this world, keeping nearest to my heart the gold ring the great leader gave me."

Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba wrote in the mourners' book, "The international revolutionary movement has lost a great stronghold." President Mitterrand of France, who was attending the G-7 meeting, said with pride that he alone among the heads of the seven states had had the privilege of meeting President Kim Il Sung, and stressed, "President Kim Il Sung was one of the great men who was active from World War II till today."

Comrade Kim Il Sung was a great man among great men and a peerless saint ever known in history.

The whole nation which had lost the great leader whom they followed and believed in like in heaven wailed, and mountains and rivers, grass and trees sobbed. The following figures show how deeply Tangun's nation grieved at the loss of its father.

Thirty minutes after the sad news of the great leader's death was released, mourners began to gather before the bronze statue of the great leader on Mansu Hill, and their number reached 300,000 by dawn the next day. In the 12 days of mourning a total of 2,2,000,000 people from all walks of life, including army men, expressed their condolences throughout north Korea. Over 60 delegations of overseas Koreans and from overseas Korean organizations extended condolences while visiting Pyongyang, and representatives from nearly 70 overseas Korean organizations and several thousand overseas Koreans visited the overseas missions of north Korea to express their condolences. South Korean people, too, expressed their deep-

est condolences on the loss of the father of the nation in different forms and ways, such as condolence wall papers, arrangement of incense burning places and by an attempt to send a delegation to north Korea, although the authorities of south Korea ruthlessly suppressed any expression of condolence on the national loss.

Not only our nation but also all mankind grieved over the death of the President. It is reported that during the mourning period, the heads of states and governments, and leaders of political parties from 166 countries in the world, international public organizations and personages from all walks of life sent over 3,480 messages of condolence to Pyongyang. Heads of many countries and noted personages from all walks of life sent wreaths to the tota. of over 3,300.

20 countries, including Cuba, Pakistan, Syria, Angola, Equatoria, Guinea and Thailand, the UN and many other international organizations set a day of mourning and a mourning period in a resolution at an extraordinary Cabinet meeting or in a presidential decree to the memory of President Kim Il Sung.

Former and present US Presidents, former and present prime ministers of Japan, and other political personages, the UN Secretary-General and the chairman of the UN General Assembly expressed deep condolences on the death of President Kim Il Sung. During the mourning period, over 700 publications in over 120 countries in the world carried features to the memory of the great leader.

Such feelings of condolence on the death of President Kim Il Sung are ceaselessly welling from the hearts of people though one year has passed since his death.

Condolences from all mankind on the death of President Kim Il Sung proved that although the heart of the historic great man had stopped beating, the great ideas of the leader, his immortal contributions to the cause of independence, and, his popular benevolent image will be remembered for ever as long as mankind exists.

## 2) Being Blessed with Leaders through Generations

With ten years remaining in the 20th century there occurred an extraordinary historical event when the Soviet Union was dismembered and the



socialist governments of the East European countries collapsed

It is evident that the collapse of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in quite a few countries is a partial and temporary phenomenon and a historical abnormality caused by serious factors. The external factor was the imperialists' subversive machinations in accordance with the "peaceful transition" strategy, and the internal factor, of more basic significance, was that consolidation of the motive force in socialist construction was neglected and the basic principles of socialism were not abided by. The conclusive and principal factor which brought about a countercurrent of history, such as the collapse of socialism and the revival of capitalism, was the failure properly to put forward a successor to the leader.

This emphasizes the stern lesson of the collapse of socialism of the Soviet type, and the prosperity of socialism of the north Korean type is that the fate of socialism in the last analysis depends on the role of the leader and his successor.

In this sense it is fortunate for the nation that Kim Jong Il who is loyal and faithful to the leader and the people and possessed of knowledge, virtue and bravery was elected successor to the cause of Juche.

Owing to his distinguished leadership, wise strategy and unparalleled boldness socialism in north Korea is steadily upheld, unaffected by the protracted economic blockade of the allied forces of the imperialists and their high-handed military threats.

Not only that, but he is leading the movement for the revival of socialism and the cause of independence in the world, while positively dealing with the complicated international situation.

How firm the foundation for the leadership of Kim Jong Il is and how firm the people's support for and faith in him are is shown by the fact that although the seat of Head of State is nominally vacant long after the death of President Kim Il Sung, political stability has been firmly maintained.

Historically, the death of a Head of State has usually been followed by a secret struggle for power and political chaos. In the light of such precedents, the south Korean authorities have been keeping keen watch, with the expectation that something like political struggle or chaos might follow in north Korea. In north Korea the people were more firmly rallied around Kim Jong Il with the passage of time even without an official ceremony of the transfer of sovereign authority.

The north Korean people are firmly convinced that as they have

Kim Jong Il at the helm, the ultimate victory of the Juche revolutionary cause launched by President Kim Il Sung, the independent reunification of the country and the prosperity of the nation in the future are certain.

The confidence that "No motherland without you" and "Led by you, we will win", and merger of the leader and the people into an integrated whole—this is the great outcome of being blessed with leaders through generations.

## **II. Thinker and Theoretician**

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## 1. Unusual Ideological and Theoretical Wisdom

### 1) Energetic Thinking and Research

Ability for energetic research and creative thinking are the main characteristic features essential for an outstanding thinker and theoretician. Without such research ability and creative thinking no one can acquire the enormous sum total of the ideas, theories and scientific knowledge accumulated through history, and set forth creative ideas and theories giving the scientific answer to the theoretical and practical problems raised in the new era.

Kim Jong Il pursued thinking and research sincerely and deeply, discovered new principles and propositions and creatively evolved theories from his early years. President Kim Il Sung said, "Comrade Kim Jong Il is unusually bright. He has had an unusually strong spirit of enquiry from his school days. He is much inclined to delve into everything in reading the Marxist-Leninist classics and the selected works of world literature. He has an outstanding ability to discover and create new things after comparison, analysis, inference and summarization. He very much likes to think. Deep thinking is his natural disposition. His thinking always has been analytical, inquiring and original. So when he was young I thought he would become a great thinker in the future."

His wisdom and sagacity stood out and were admired by all from his childhood. His unusual thinking and inquiring mind too were his natural qualities. If these are regarded as natural endowments, it may be said to be one-sided understanding. Inborn talent alone does not make a genius. As the saying goes, "Effort is mother of a genius". A diligent painstaking advances ahead of a lazy genius.

It must be noted that the unusual ideological and theoretical wisdom of Kim Jong Il is outstanding ability acquired through strenuous study and enthusiastic inquiry from childhood.

The outstanding personality of Kim Jong Il as an enthusiastic and great lover of learning was clearly revealed in his childhood. Already in his primary school days, he mastered the secondary school courses of geometry

algebra, and foreign languages and published literary works which were by no means inferior and which were admired by specialists. In his middle school days he mastered subjects which are normally studied at university, like higher mathematics and theoretical physics.

He devoured the great leader's immortal classic works and the writings of noted Western and Eastern philosophers, thinkers and writers, like the Marxist-Leninist classics and selected works of world literature, through which he acquired a wide knowledge of nature and society. According to the reminiscences of his classmates, his study was packed with books from different countries and looked like a library. He read all these many books and had a profound knowledge of different branches of learning. There is a saying, "The world shines with the sun, and man with knowledge". This seems to refer to him who already in his childhood had built up real ability surpassing specialists.

The quality and level of an inquiring mind depend on the aim of inquiry and on the attitude to and method of inquiry. The inquiring mind of Kim Jong Il was outstanding because he had a thoroughgoing ideological standpoint in inquiring into all phenomena of nature and society, and the aim of his inquiry was noble. He inquired into a wide variety of subjects and made inquiry with tremendous enthusiasm.

He was very busy on April 15, 1966, because it was the birthday of President Kim Il Sung. Nevertheless, that day he read several books at odd times, more than an ordinary man could read in a whole day. In admiration, one official asked him, "You study as hard as in your university days even after you have graduated. I want to know what is the aim of your pursuit of learning". At this he said

"As you have made a special study of social science at a university you know the aim of study concerns the ideal of man and his mission in society. Viewed in this light, my ideal and mission can be said to inherit faithfully and work for the great leader's revolutionary cause. To this end it is necessary to be fully prepared ideologically, theoretically and practically.

"Above all it is necessary to explore anew the field of ideas and theory. Without revolutionary theory, excellent practice cannot be expected.

"But age has advanced far. Nothing can be done without equipping oneself with new ideas and theories suited to our age. I make it the aim of my study to acquire all the ideological and theoretical wealth attained by mankind through reading, and explore ceaselessly the new field of communist construction."

His ideological and theoretical pursuits proceed from the noble ideal to inherit and realize the Juche revolutionary cause and is run through with it. He engages in ideological and theoretical activity, making it his basic aim to realize the full independence of the people and the sacred cause of human emancipation.

Many-sidedness of subjects of study together with this aim is a barometer telling of the dimension and level of his inquiring mind. Anyone will realize the subjects he pursues, by looking into his works, which are the crystallization of his energetic thinking and pursuits. To sum up, the multitude of his classic works include those which developed in depth the Juche philosophy, propositions which established the theories on building the Party and state, and the Juche-oriented theories on economic and cultural development. There are volumes which were written on the basis of special theories and a wide knowledge and cover philosophy, politics, jurisprudence, the press and broadcasting, pedagogy, history, military science, literary and art theories, sports and public health.

Kim Jong Il earlier explained how to go about thinking and research.

"Idle thinking brings only poverty of theory and a dogmatic framework.

"I regard as useless those who neglect thinking and those who follow the pattern of other people's theory, and specially value those who evolve new ideas with their brains. I always insist on pursuing knowledge sincerely and on creative thinking."

Sincere pursuit of knowledge and creative thinking—these comprise the basic attitude he persistently maintained in thinking and research.

Because he always conducted ideological and theoretical activity from such a standpoint and with such an attitude, he revealed the limitations and shortcomings of earlier theories with unusual wisdom and innovative vision, proved President Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas to be the sole guiding ideas of the present age, the age of independence, and enriched the treasure house of the Juche idea while exploring a new field of learning.

## **2) Scientific Perspicacity and Outstanding Writing Ability**

Scientific perspicacity together with an unusual inquiring mind and thinking ability are the main criteria to appraise the qualities of a thinker

and theoretician. A thinker and theoretician and a political leader should have outstanding perspicacity in order to give a scientific answer to the questions of the modern pluralist society and the complicated modern times. Only then is it possible to put forth a new idea and a new theory.

Kim Jong Il is an outstanding thinker and theoretician who ceaselessly and with unusual perspicacity gives scientific answers to the requirements of the age and of history.

Kim Jong Il earlier showed admirable perspicacity in the study of the history of our nation and in the appraisal of that history. To cite a typical instance, in October 1960, he made a scientific analysis of the injustice of the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla, and rectified the history of the nation distorted by the flunkeyists. In his penetrating analysis, he showed that by routing Koguryo and Paekje with the united forces of Silla and Tang, Silla extended its sphere of control with the help of Tang and sold the countries of the same nation and the territory to the foreign force in return. He showed that this was a betrayal of the nation, and by no means the unification of the nation. In his special analysis, he proved that after the fall of Koguryo, the use of Palhae in its territory meant the beginning of era of the north-south kingdoms of Palhae and Silla which lasted for 200 years and, consequently, the version of unification of the nation by Silla is a distortion of history. This amazing analysis, which shook historical circles, was made by the then 18-year-old Kim Jong Il. This shows how marvelous his perspicacity and vision were.

Not only this. In September 1960, he advanced for the first time the view that the paleolithic era existed in our country, and that from then forward our ancient ancestors lived in our territory. Thus he shattered the so-called "version of migration of the northern nation" or "version of migration of the southern nation" which in the past Japanese scholars and south Korean reptile scholars had maintained. Actually fossil bones of *Homo erectus*, paleolithic man and neolithic man, and many remains of the paleolithic era have been discovered by archaeologists in north Korea, and this scientifically proves the view of Kim Jong Il. It was Kim Jong Il who first rectified the unscientific view that our ancient states went over directly to feudal society from ancient society without going through slave-owning society. Recently a tomb which showed the burial of the living with the dead was discovered near Pyongyang City. This proves the undeniable fact that ancient Korea, which was the first



ancient state in our country, was a slave-owning state

Thus the unusual perspicacity of Kim Jong Il is underlain by his wide knowledge and keen insight. Scientific perspicacity can be crowned with perfection only when it is combined with profound knowledge and creative thinking. Whatever profound thinking and research one may make or how ever wide one's knowledge, without perspicacity to discover what others fail to see and think and to form a new idea, one cannot discover new principles nor establish creative theories.

The view that ideological consciousness decides everything; the view of the leader evolved on the basis of the new understanding of the leader as the top brain of the people, but not as an individual; the principle that the internal force of revolution is the integrated whole of leader, party and people, the seed theory on the core of literary and art works and all other Juche-oriented principles and theories evolved by Kim Jong Il—all these are new and original principles and theories never before put forward.

His unusual perspicacity is proved by the fact that he grasped the urgent problems raised by the age before anyone else, and advanced the outstanding ideas and theories which gave them a scientific answer.

Today our age urgently requires that the inevitability of victory of the cause of independence of mankind, the cause of socialism, and the way to their realization be clarified perfectly in a scientific manner.

Socialism is the ideal of mankind. It was Marxism which made the idea of and theory on socialism scientific. However, earlier socialist theory based on the materialistic conception of history failed to overcome historical limitations. Moreover, after the events in Eastern Europe the basic question was raised, decisive of the fate of mankind and the future of the cause of socialism, to place socialism on a new scientific basis and rekindle in mankind faith in the victory of socialism.

This important task of the present time has been brilliantly fulfilled by the most outstanding modern thinker and theoretician, Kim Jong Il. He gave the perfect answer to the requirement of the times and the historic task by publishing *Socialism Is a Science*, and other noted works. His works may be said to be the crystallization of his unusual scientific insight.

The outstanding insight of Kim Jong Il, in combination with his scientific thinking, brings out his unusual wisdom.

Scientific thinking is the force and flight of the imagination which makes it possible to picture vividly the features of the future world on the

basis of actuality, and to explore untrodden paths. There is a saying, "Spirit without imagination is like an observatory without telescope." As it is impossible to observe the celestial sphere and reveal its secrets without telescope, so the human mind cannot make great creations without imagination.

Kim Jong Il has a clear, creative brain and marked writing ability. His features as a great philosopher and a great theoretician stand out in this respect as well. His unusual ideological and theoretical wisdom, including his persistent inquiry, intense philosophical thinking, scientific insight and thinking capacity is reflected in his works.

Concerning the outstanding writing ability of Kim Jong Il, President Kim Il Sung said with admiration, "Comrade Kim Jong Il writes well and has profound theoretical knowledge. I have read almost all his articles, speeches and talks. I like the originality with which he always induces new arguments in his theory, and his answers to the requirements of the time are good. His theory is profound, well-knit and logical. This is the characteristic feature of his theory."

In his university days, Kim Jong Il clearly revealed himself to be a thinker and theoretician by publishing many works which surprised academic circles.

The main articles and works he wrote in this period are as follows:

*On Re-examining the Question of Unification of the Three Kingdoms, On Firmly Establishing the Revolutionary World Outlook among Students, Let Us Strengthen Unity in Thought and Purpose and Cohesion of Party Members Based on the Leader's Revolutionary Idea, On the Rise of Modern Revisionism, Economic Crisis Is an Inevitable Product of Capitalist Society, On Humanitarian Literature and the Dramas of Shakespeare, Aesthetics Is the Desire and Requirement of the Masses, On Some Theoretical Problems of Political Economy Raised in "Anti-Dühring", The Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature, Taean Work System Is an Original Socialist Economic Management System, The Correctness of Our Party's Line on Developing Local Economy, Place and Role of the County in the Building of Socialism* and so on.

These works show that Kim Jong Il has an outstanding creative brain and writing ability.

Visiting north Korea, overseas Korean scholars are said to have confirmed that over 1,500 treatises, speeches and written talks which

Kim Jong Il published in his university days were included in his work *On the Mission of Kim Il Sung University* (15 volumes).

Particularly from June 1964 when Kim Jong Il worked in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea after graduation from university, his pursuit of learning was oriented to the broader world. From then on, he engaged in ideological and theoretical activity in real earnest and put out many monumental works which were of epochal significance for the ideological and theoretical development of mankind. It is difficult to estimate the total number of his writings because a lot of them are said to have not been published. But recently it has become known that his writings published over 30 years from June 1964 to June 1994 totalled over 890. This means that he published on an average 30 writings and articles a year. This is a record rate in the volume of writing never before known.

The English poet Browning said, "Measure the degree of your wisdom by the size of the shadow it casts." Human wisdom can be measured only by the success it achieves. The greatness of a thinker and theoretician is measured by the size of the ideological and theoretical work he has done, and this is revealed through his writings.

Today the world's people highly praise Kim Jong Il as a peerless man of wide knowledge or as an authority in ideas and theories because he published an enormous amount of classics after outstanding and energetic writing effort. All his writings are clearly conscious of the problems reflecting the requirements of the time, and the reformation and the trend of life, philosophical in content and well-knit in logic and system. Profound content is argued persuasively and in terms easy to understand. Here his outstanding writing ability comes to its fullest expression.

Comments by the world's people on his famous work *On the Juche Idea* show what heights his writing have reached. Inoue Shuhachi, director of the International Institute of the Juche Idea and professor at Rikkyo University in Japan gave his impressions as follows: "The treatise *On the Juche Idea* proclaims the shining fruit of Kim Jong Il's ideological and theoretical wisdom and the brilliant summing up of his high ideological and theoretical authority at home and abroad. The more I read the book, the more profound my thinking becomes, and whenever I read it I gather many new ideas. The depth of the idea incorporated in the work is unfathomable. It is like an inexhaustible spring of truth. It really is a masterpiece." Professor Edmond Joue of the No. 1 University of Paris stated, "Excellent ideas and good

propositions are brought together in this work by His Excellency Kim Jong Il. After reading the work I discussed it with my colleagues. They agree with my opinion and admire the book. Frankly speaking, it is difficult for any good idea to have its authority admitted by European scholars who have high self respect. But His Excellency Kim Jong Il as an authority on ideas and theories has earned the respect of us Europeans through this famous work."

Writing immediately means the man himself

In the light of the irrefutable fact that his work has caused great repercussions in the world and is widely read, I keenly feel that he is an authority on philosophy and the master of ideas and theories.

### 3) Source of Remarkable Wisdom

The ideologico-theoretical features of thinkers are formed and develop in the social and historical circumstances under which they live and act. Social and historical circumstances constitute the historical source from which the qualities of thinkers and theoreticians are formed and develop.

A great revolutionary family gives birth to a great man. It is understandable to everyone that Kim Jong Il's unusual ideological and theoretical wisdom has its source in that he was born into the greatest family ever known in history, and grew up with revolutionary education and influence.

The outstanding thinker and theoretician acquires unusual wisdom under the influence of a great revolutionary family, great social reform and in practice.

It is widely known that Kim Jong Il has acquired unusual wisdom as a distinguished thinker-theoretician and noble qualities as an outstanding leader, while growing up and being active during a period of the greatest social reform and revolutionary practice ever experienced by mankind.

The following propositions clarified by Kim Jong Il show the source of his outstanding ideological and theoretical wisdom which is evocative of an inexhaustible spring of wisdom.

A leader derives wisdom, leadership ability and virtue from the popular masses. The people are teachers, and there cannot be a prominent leader who is isolated from the people."

"If there is an omniscient and omnipotent being in this world, it is none



other than the popular masses. By drawing on their unfathomable strength and wisdom, the masses create everything in society they advance history and drive the revolution forward."

Kim Jong Il's philosophical world outlook is that he regards the masses of the people as the most priceless, dignified beings and as the wisest and strongest beings in the world, and his attitude to life is faithfully to serve the masses of the people and work devotedly for them. His consistent view is that when the people's independent will and requirements are put together into an integrated system they immediately become ideas, lines and policies. Such is the basic principle and method he abides by in his ideological and theoretical activity and in shaping policies.

The secret of how Kim Jong Il ceaselessly puts forth ideas and theories suited to the requirements of the time and desires of the people is that he always goes into the midst of the people, breathes the same air as they and engages in energetic ideological and theoretical activity in the actuality bustling with life.

Ideas and theories are needed for social practice for the freedom and welfare of the people. Ideas and theories in an ivory tower isolated from the people and from practice cannot become the key to and powerful instrument for the reform of actuality.

Kim Jong Il's ideological and theoretical activity is always conducted in the actuality of great creation and reform in which the people live and work. According to recent information, in over 30 years from 1964 the meetings he has convened or presided over have exceeded 900 in number. The factories, enterprises, cooperative farms, government establishments, schools, shops, army units and residential neighbourhoods and families to which he has given field guidance total over 2,460. In order to listen to the voice of people, he stays away for several days, going out to one unit and meeting and talking with as many people as possible, and helping them.

From olden times, popular sentiment was said to be the will of heaven. The greatness of Kim Jong Il lies in that he always takes as his motto the noble idea of "belief in the people as in heaven" of President Kim Il Sung, who regarded the people as heaven and devoted his whole life of 80 years to the good of the people, and mixes with people putting their will and requirements into an integrated system and puts forth original ideas and theories. This is the basic reason why the ideas and theories of Kim Jong Il

were accepted by the people as their own and demonstrate unbounded vitality in the practical struggle for social reform.

Kim Jong Il's warm human love, ardent love of people and his spirit of devoted service for them can be said to be the fundamental spirit and basic idea which underlie and run through his ideas and theories. Any one who reads his works admires his idea of respecting people and giving priority to them — the working people must be valued as the greatest beings in the world, and everything that is valuable in the world should be given to them first — his ardent love for the people and the spirit of devoted service to them. The noble human love which permeates his ideas and theories constitutes the tractive force of the great ideas which charm and attract all.

There is a saying, "Great ideas come from heart." The heart is pure and warm. Only the thinker and theoretician who values and defends everything human with a clean conscience, and who ardently loves the people and devotes everything to them with a warm heart can create the great ideas and theories which illuminate the road to be followed by the times and by the people.

The outstanding wisdom and unusual ideological and theoretical insight of Kim Jong Il have their source in the people, and his ideas and theories originate in his warm love for the people.

Kim Jong Il is the great man of great men who is perfectly equipped with the qualifications of the great thinker-theoretician ever known in history.

## 2. Authority of the Juche Idea

### 1) Systematization and Development of the Juche Idea

Kim Jong Il brought the immortal Juche idea into an integrated system and developed it in depth and made it common idea for all in the independence age. Here lies his greatness as an outstanding thinker-theoretician and leader of the Juche cause.

Integration, systematization and full development of the Juche idea was

an important question arising in clarifying its truthfulness, scientific accuracy and greatness and in accurately defining its place in history and in carrying forward and developing with credit the Juche cause initiated by President Kim Il Sung. The revolutionary cause of the working class, the cause of independence for the masses, is in essence the cause of realizing the leader's ideas. Consequently the victorious advance and furthering of the leader's cause is inconceivable apart from carrying forward and developing the leader's ideas.

If one reads Kim Jong Il's works *On the Juche Idea*, *On Some Questions in Understanding the Juche Philosophy*, *On Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea*, *On Establishing the Juche Outlook on the Revolution*, *On Having a Correct Viewpoint and Understanding of the Juche Philosophy* and his many other immortal classics, one will easily understand how greatly he has developed and enriched the Juche idea, theories and methods in their theoretical content and framework.

He scientifically clarified the Juche idea, which constitutes the essence of Comrade Kim Il Sung's revolutionary idea, as consisting of three components—philosophical principle, socio-historical principle and guiding principle.

The guiding idea of the times must become the instrument to correctly understand and reform the world and, for that purpose, give the people the philosophical world outlook to understand and reform the world before anything else. In order for the guiding idea of the time to become a powerful instrument to explore history and reform society, the socio-historical view must be established with the people who are the main agents of history as the centre. And in order to fulfil its mission as the guiding idea, it is necessary to clarify the principle and way for the people, the masters of the revolution, to carry out the revolution and construction successfully.

The philosophical, socio-historical and guiding principles which constitute the Juche idea are inseparably linked with each other and are in unity. The philosophical and socio-historical principles are principal prerequisites of the guiding principle, and the guiding principle is needed to embody the philosophical and socio-historical principles in the revolution and construction.

With this scientific clarification of the component parts of the Juche idea and the relations between them, the originality of the Juche idea as distinguished from Marxist philosophy whose framework is dialectical materi-

alism and historical materialism stands out in bolder relief.

The content of the Juche idea was brought into an integrated system with man at the focus by Kim Jong Il.

"The Juche idea is a new philosophical thought which centres on man."

This proposition which defines the Juche idea as people-centred philosophy clarifies the basic characteristic feature of the Juche philosophy, which is distinct from all earlier philosophies.

Therefore, it is the prerequisite and point of departure for a correct understanding of the Juche idea to correctly understand the term "man-centred" with stress put on it.

The term "man-centred" in the Juche idea has three main connotations. First, viewed from the angle of the mission of philosophy, it has it as its basic mission to hew out human destiny, secondly, philosophically, consideration is made with man as the focus and, thirdly, hence the Juche philosophy evolved and systematized with man placed at the focus.

Philosophy is a science which gives world outlook. By nature it must as its basic mission settle the question of human destiny. The progressive character and validity of world outlook can be said to be decided depending on how accurately it indicates the way to the shaping of human destiny.

Marxist philosophy interprets nature and society materialistically and makes clear that man is not only the product of the environment but also can reform it. Thus it limits itself to providing the prerequisite, or giving an answer to the question of human destiny.

The perfect answer to the question of shaping human destiny is given by the Juche idea. The Juche philosophy does not limit itself to explaining the existence of the world and the process of its movement, regarding man as simply a part of the material world, but it clarifies the essential characteristic features of man and, on this basis, promotes man to be the master, dominator and transformer of the world. It clarifies the law governed process of man's cognizance of the essence of the world and its transformation and the viewpoint and attitude to be abided by for that purpose.

This makes one understand that the Juche philosophy gives the most accurate answer to the question of human destiny, by overcoming the one-sidedness and limitations of all the earlier philosophies. Here lies the absolute superiority of the Juche philosophy and the greatness of Kim Jong Il who has developed and perfected it.

The Juche idea is grounded as a man-centred philosophy in the light of



the fact that it applies the philosophical method of placing man at the focus of philosophical consideration.

Placing man at the focus of philosophical consideration means assessing and clarifying all philosophical problems in relation to man, and viewing the world and establishing world outlook from the standpoint of man, who wants to become the master to dominate and transform the world. This is an original philosophical method which has been established for the first time by the Juche idea.

In the past, idealistic philosophies and materialistic ones, including Marxism-Leninism, can be said to have established world outlook applying the philosophical method, which, basing itself on the principle of relations between matter and consciousness, places matter or spirit at the focus in the world view. In the past, philosophy failed to understand the question of philosophical method as the question of what to place at the focus of philosophical consideration.

The Juche philosophy shed new light on the question of philosophical method as the question of what to place at the focus in viewing the world, and it has established the philosophical method which views the world with man at the centre, and gives an answer to the question of human destiny.

Then why should the world be viewed with man placed at the centre? Kim Jong Il gave a clear-cut answer to this.

"Why, then, should we view the world with man at the centre? It is because man is the most developed material being, holds the position of master in the world, and plays the decisive role in the development of the world and in shaping his own destiny."

Thus the Juche idea has stood out as an original man-centred philosophy answering the question of human destiny by establishing the new philosophical method which places man at the centre of philosophical consideration.

Kim Jong Il, a genius of ideas and theories, has developed in depth the system of the Juche idea and its content with new original principles.

He has raised for the first time the question of man's role and position in the world as the basic question of philosophy and elucidated in an original manner the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. This is a monumental achievement in the history of the philosophy of mankind.

When the question of man's position and role in the world is clarified,

the question of whether or not man can dominate and reform the world in order to shape his destiny becomes clear. Viewed from the angle that man's primary concern is the question of his destiny, all his cognition and practical activity can be said to be designed for shaping his destiny. Eventually this means that the question of human destiny boils down to the question of man's position and role in the world. Moreover, the question of man's position and role in the world is the pressing question to be solved in the present age when the working people, the masters of history, must shape their destiny and create history independently and creatively.

In this connection the question of man's position and role in the world has been raised anew as the basic question of philosophy, indicating the road for shaping human destiny. The profound scholarship and brilliant insight with which Kim Jong Il brought up this question as the basic question of philosophy deserve to be admired by philosophers and activists the world over.

What is particularly important in his theoretical services which developed the Juche philosophical world outlook is philosophical elucidation of man's essential attributes.

The question of what man is a question which many give thought to and is not easily solved. When viewed conventionally, this question seems to be simple, but when it is brought up from the angle of philosophy, it is the question of human life and destiny which cannot be treated simply. Therefore, many philosophers, thinkers, religionists and artists of all ages in all countries have carried out investigations with might and main, meditating, worrying and arguing about man. But previous theories and ideas could not give the perfect answer to the question of what is man because they failed to grasp the exact meaning of human existence and human nature.

- I. Socrates, who first treated the human question philosophically and said "Know thyself", regarded the "immortal spirit" as human essence and "morality" as his attribute. The Roman philosopher Cicero said that humanity is the sum total of the mental character of man distinct from his animality. As for Kant's view on man in modern times, it can be said to be the synthesis of a view on rational man and on sensitive man. Feuerbach said that man must be understood as being possessed of knowledge, sentiment and will based on sensitivity. But Feuerbach understood man as humanity in general and failed to regard man as a historical, social and practical being. Precisely such abstraction was the limitation of man here.

Marx attained success which formed a landmark in the research into

man.<sup>2</sup> It is only the Juche philosophy that cognizes man as the independent existence in the world and brings up his role to that of omnipotent existence.

2 In Marxist philosophy the view on man is treated in each aspect in the system of its three components. In materialism it is treated in the relation between men's consciousness and matter in dialectics, the universal law governing human thinking is treated, and in historical materialism man is viewed in regard to the productive forces and the relations of production, basis and the superstructure. In brief, Marxist philosophy understands man as the sum total of social relations. But in defining man, Marxism only treats the question of the productive forces and the relations of production in the process of movement in their natural history, but not in relation to man, and thus puts the question of human activity out of the field of view. As a result, Marxist philosophy could not develop the view on man as the sum total of consciousness, thinking and practice and, consequently, it could not be brought up as the basic problem of philosophy.

Thus research into man's essential attributes has continued ceaselessly for several thousand years since the cradle of mankind, but only the Juche philosophy which has made a historical analysis of man, placing him at the centre of philosophical consideration, has clarified man's essential attributes as independence, creativity and consciousness, and perfected the theory on them.

The Juche philosophy has defined man as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness. Independence is an attribute of social man who is desirous of living and developing in an independent way and free from fetters and subjugation of all forms, as master of the world and of his own destiny. Creativity is an attribute of social man who transforms the world and shapes his destiny purposefully and consciously. Consciousness is an attribute of social man, which determines all his endeavours to understand and reshape the world and himself. The three essential characteristics of man are related to each other and manifest themselves in a coordinated manner.

Thus man becomes master of his own destiny through independence, shapes his own destiny with his own efforts through creativity and brings into play the force of shaping his destiny through consciousness, namely, with conscious will. Thus the Juche idea clarifies the great truth that man himself is the master of his destiny and has the capacity to shape his own destiny.

With the scientific clarification of the essential attributes of man for the first time the question of man which has been ceaselessly discussed from the beginning of philosophical thinking has been given perfect philosophical

elucidation.

The Juche idea which has established the Juche world outlook has more fundamental meaning than the historical landmark formed by the Copernican theory. It must be appraised to be greater than the discovery of fire, the first epoch-making event in human history.

Kim Jong Il has developed the Juche socio-historical outlook placing man, that is, the masses of the people, at the centre, and thus made another immortal contribution to enriching the treasure house of the Juche idea.

"The essence of society and the laws governing its change and development can be understood fully only by focussing on man."

The socio-historical outlook, in brief, can be defined as the integrated whole of the view on, the standpoint of and the attitude to social history.

The socio-historical outlook elucidated by the Juche philosophy is the man-centred one which regards the people as the main agent of social history, taking the people's position and role in social history as the basic question. To summarize, it views the essence of society and the law governing process of its change and development with man placed at the centre. Here lies the originality of the Juche socio-historical outlook distinct from all previous views on history.

It would be in proper sequence to begin with the question of what is the main agents of history in consideration of socio-historical outlook. It is because the question of the main agents of history is the basic question in understanding social development and development of revolution from the Juche viewpoint and attitude.

Kim Jong Il originally elucidated the basic characteristics of the socio-historical movement as, unlike motion in nature, social movement has main agents and occurs and develops by the positive action and role of the main agents. He has established the basic principle of the Juche outlook on history that the main agents of history are the masses of the people.

According to him, the reason why the people are the main agents of history boils down to two points:

First, because the people have the need and desire to live and develop independently, and this is the basic reason for social movement; secondly, because the people are beings which have the creative force to promote social movement.

Kim Jong Il has discovered the real main agent of history and elucidated that the people are the main driving force of history. This is a great contribution to the development of the view on history and on the shaping of human destiny and one of his brilliant services in the history of ideas.

Then Kim Jong Il renewed understanding of the law-governed process of the socio-historical movement.

"While admitting the general laws of the progress of the material world which affect social history, the Juche idea expounded the laws which are peculiar to social history. Therein lies a great service the Juche idea rendered in perfecting the working-class outlook on social history."

Generally speaking, the laws governing movement are in principle systematized by elucidating the essence, character and the motive force of movement and thus clarifies the manifestation and materialization of the essence, attributes of the author of the movement.

Based himself on a scientific analysis of independence, creativity and consciousness, which are the essence, attributes of man, that is, the people who are the main agent of socio-historical movement, Kim Jong Il clarified the laws peculiar to socio-historical movement and systematized them into an integrated whole. Its contents are that the essence of socio-historical movement is defined by man's independence, the character of the movement by creativity and the motive force of the movement by consciousness, an independent consciousness. In other words, a renewed view on socio-historical movement has been advanced with clarification of the new principle that socio-historical movement is the independent and creative movement of the people and that their independent consciousness plays the decisive role in the revolutionary movement. This presents a new clarification of the essence, character and motive force of socio-historical movement.

The fact that the essence, character and motive force of socio-historical movement was scientifically clarified by Kim Jong Il is of great theoretical and practical significance.

He confirmed that socio-historical movement is the independent movement to realize independence of the people, and made clear that the movement presents the people's activity of creative character. The theoretical elucidation of socio-historical movement according to the Juche view on history gives confidence that the national democratic movement can be led to success by the efforts of the people, its masters, and urges the awareness that the people should augment their strength in active struggle.

From this viewpoint the question of the motive force of socio-historical movement deserves further consideration. Only when the question of what is the motive force of socio-historical movement is clarified, can the masses of the people be successfully awakened and organized and can difficulties besetting the movement be overcome successfully.

It was through the Juche view on social history that the important question of the motive force of socio-historical movement has been accurately and perfectly clarified.

Viewed historically the view which regards socio-historical movement as the creation of an "outstanding individual" takes the "will" of an individual as the motive force of the movement whereas Marxist historical materialism which takes the movement of the mode of production as socio-historical movement, regards class struggle and economic forces in settling the conflicts between the productive forces and the relations of production as the "locomotive of history", the motive force.

Marxist historical materialism can be defined as the socio-historical view that "Economic forces decide the process of history".<sup>3</sup>

3 Engels himself explains the view on historical process which attributes the cause and motive force of all historical events to the economic development of society: a change in the mode of production and distribution, to society being differentiated into different classes and to mutual struggle of the different classes. In this light it is doubtless that historical materialism regards "economic force" as the motive force of history.

The Marxist view which regards the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production as the basic cause and motive force of socio-historical movement is of significance in clarifying the objective factor of the movement, but cannot be the universal and scientific view on the basic cause and motive force of socio-historical movement. The conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production does not act as the direct cause of the movement of social reformation but is only the barometer showing maturity of the objective factors of the reformation movement.

Kim Jong Il for the first time clarified the socio-historical principle that the independent ideology of the masses plays the decisive role in historical development. This has perfectly clarified the question of the motive force of socio-historical movement, and the theory on the development of socio-



historical movement has been established as the theory with perfect content.

The socio-historical view of Juche has scientifically elucidated the essence of society and the laws governing social development. This provides a real and scientific guide to the people's movement for social reformation and the building of an ideal society.

The Juche historical view defines society as a whole as a collective of people whose component parts are the people, the spiritual and material wealth created by them and the social relations among them. Thus social development means growth in the independence of man, the master of society. Social development is the purposeful process in which people realize independence through their creative activity. Consequently, it is the basic law governing social development that man's position and role rise with the growth of man's independence and creativity; in other words, with improvement of man's independent consciousness and growth of his creative ability. From the Juche view emanates the strategic policy of building socialism and communism concerning the occupation of the material and ideological strongholds, with precedence given to the occupation of the ideological stronghold over that of the material stronghold and the general line of socialist construction concerning raising the function and role of the people's government, and the three revolutions, of which the technical and cultural revolutions are to be pushed ahead while giving precedence to the ideological revolution.

Kim Jong Il who systematized President Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas into the ideology, theory and method of Juche, has developed and enriched the Juche revolutionary theory with new principles and propositions.

The services rendered by Kim Jong Il who enriched the Juche revolutionary theory ideologically and theoretically are that he extensively elucidated the stages and course of the struggle to realize the people's independence, the main component parts of the struggle and successive processes, and the basic direction and way forward.

He defined the stages and process of the struggle for the people's independence as the struggle for national and class liberation and human emancipation.

He defined the component parts of the struggle for the people's independence as the struggle for social and human transformation and the trans-

formation of nature. This shed new light on the basic realm and tasks of social reformation for the people's independence and has rendered a great service in indicating the correct road for the realization of the cause of the people's independence.

He elucidated the general direction and way forward for the struggle for the successful social, human transformation and the transformation of nature by putting forward the slogan "Let us produce, study and live like the anti-Japanese guerrillas!" and laid down the principles for struggle throughout the whole course of struggle for independence, by advancing the slogan "Let us live our own way!" He advanced the theory on ideological campaigns as the most correct method of human transformation, and the theory on speed campaign as the basic way of struggle for the successful transformation of society and nature.

Kim Jong Il extensively elucidated the stages and process for the cause of the people's independence, the main component parts and general line, principles and ways of struggle. Thus the Juche revolutionary theory shines as communist revolutionary theory which has brought together and perfected the theories concerning all stages and realms of the struggle for the people's independence.

Kim Jong Il's noteworthy services among his ideological and theoretical achievements are that he newly developed the Juche leadership method.

"The question of leadership method is the realm of specific theoretical and practical significance in the revolutionary struggle of the working class."

The revolutionary cause of the working class, the cause of independence of the people, can be victorious only when it has the correct guiding idea, guiding theory and correct leadership method, because it involves serious and complicated struggle for the fundamental transformation of the world and gigantic struggle on the part of the broad sections of the people.

The Juche leadership method emanates from the principle of the Juche idea that the masters of the revolution and construction are the people and that the motive force of the revolution and construction lies in them. It is developed and systematized on the basis of the guiding principle of the Juche idea which stresses the need to maintain an independent stand, apply a creative method and attach primary importance to ideas.

In particular, Kim Jong Il has newly systematized and developed the theory of the leadership method in an all-round way on the basis of the

position and role of the leader in mass leadership. What is important here is that he elucidated in an original way that leadership in the revolution and construction is, in essence, the leadership of the party and the leader. Kim Jong Il said

"The question of leadership in the revolutionary movement, the communist movement, is precisely the question of leadership given by the party and the leader to the masses of the people."

For the people to play their role as the masters of the revolution and construction, leadership and the masses should be combined. Mass leadership which leads the masses of the people to maintain their stand and play their role as the masters of the revolution and construction is given by the party and the leader.

The party of the working class constitutes the headquarters of the revolution, whereas the leader is the supreme leader of the revolution who leads the masses in a coordinated manner. Only when the masses of the people receive the leadership of the party and of the leader can they energetically push ahead with the serious and complicated revolutionary movement of transforming nature and society, achieve national and class liberation and successfully build the ideal society.

Basing himself on the Juche-orientated elucidation of the essence of mass leadership, Kim Jong Il wisely explained that to effect the unified leadership of the leader and implement the revolutionary mass line are the basic principle to be abided by constantly in the leadership in the revolution and construction. The principle of mass leadership elucidated by him is the guide which ensures victory of the cause of independence by awakening and organizing the masses on the highest level, forming the independent main agent of revolution and ensuring uniformity and unity of leadership.

Basing himself on the scientific elucidation of the essence and principles of mass leadership, he advanced and systematized the theory on the unified leadership system of the leader and the unified guidance system of the leader's successor for the first time in history.

A leadership system is the integrated whole of order, system, organization and setup for leadership and is the essential component part of leadership method. Leadership in the revolution and construction is effected through a certain leadership system.

The unified leadership system of the leader is the leadership system under which the revolution and construction is carried out, solely guided by

the leader's ideas, and the whole party, the whole country and all the army act as one on the instructions of the leader. The unified guidance system of the leader's successor is a guidance system to implement the leader's ideas and leadership in the whole party and in the whole of society, to advance and lead the revolution to victory in accordance with the leader's wishes, and to realize the cause of independence launched by the leader down through the generations.

Giving full elucidation of the position and role of the party and the transmission belts linking it with the masses in the unified leadership system of the leader, he gave the Juche-oriented understanding of the party and the transmission belts linking it with the masses and showed the way to firmly establish the unified leadership system of the leader by enhancing the function and role of the party and the transmission belts linking it with the masses. Concretely speaking, the party of the working class forms the leading force to effect the leader's leadership in the revolution and construction. The people's government is the most comprehensive transmission belt of the party which rallies broad sections of the masses behind the party and the leader. The organizations of the working people, which are the mass political organizations embracing the broad sections of people of all walks of life, are the transmission belts linking the party with the masses.

This original exposition of the theory on the leadership system of the leader and his successor laid the corner-stone of the revolutionary leadership method and has made it possible to meet successfully the basic requirements of mass leadership where it is indispensable to give full play to the force and wisdom of the people.

Kim Jong Il enriched the theory of the art of leadership ideologically and theoretically by giving an all-round exposition of the method of revolutionary activity embodying the mass line, the nature of the popular style of activity and its requirements.

As revolution requires tactics and strategy and political struggle needs strategy for political struggle, so it is necessary to possess the art of leadership to give leadership.

In brief the art of leadership is understood as the way to achieve people. Leadership means precisely going into the midst of the people and enlisting them.

The art of Juche leadership has been established on the basis of the Juche-oriented theory of leadership, and this includes the theory and

method of leadership. The theory of leadership explains its essence, while the method advances the basic principles to be followed.

The essence of leadership is that the party and the leader lead the masses to realize independence. The basic principle is to implement the unified leadership of the leader and maintain the mass line. In this light, the art of Juche leadership is to carry out the mass line on the basis of the unified leadership system of the leader.

The main substance of the art of leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea is the revolutionary work system, the revolutionary and popular method and style of work. These are essential for the implementation of the mass line to carry out the policies of the party and the leader smoothly.

Kim Jong Il has stressed that it is important for activists to establish the correct method of work before anything else.

"The working class party should always hold fast to the revolutionary work method both before and after the takeover of power and in the revolutionary struggle and construction work."

The Juche work method enables the people to remain masters of the revolution and construction and to play their role as such. Speaking plainly, work method is the sum total of the method and technique of work among the people.

Thus, the Juche work method boils down to depending on the masses of the people, and here lie its revolutionary character, scientific accuracy, militancy and inducement.

What is important in the Juche work method is; first, to give precedence to political work over all other activity; secondly, for the superior to help the lower echelons; thirdly, to act scientifically and creatively in line with objective reality and the specific conditions, without formalistic conventions; fourthly, to launch mass movements positively to attain the goal.

Next, activists must acquire and embody the popular style of work. Kim Jong Il has stressed.

Style of work is the aggregate of qualities of activists which are revealed in work among the masses. It must be borne in mind that this is by no means the question of ability and character, but rather manifestation of the ideas and views of the activists. Here, it must be stressed that bureaucracy and dogmatism must be overcome.

What is important in the popular style of work is; first, sincerity and

responsibility; secondly devotion and setting an example; thirdly, respect for the people and magnanimity towards them; fourthly, modesty, simplicity and integrity.

This art of Juche leadership is based on the style of work of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, which became a revolutionary tradition, and has developed to become the "Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method", which provide a valuable guide to activity.

Thus the revolutionary work method and style of work fully elucidated by Kim Jong Il display great vitality and enable the champions of the reformation movement to acquire the noble political and moral qualities needed for their historic mission as vanguard fighters and as the servants of the people. They provide guidance in doing away with the old conventional work methods, closely combine leadership with the masses and energetically arouse the people to struggle.

## 2) Idea-First Doctrine and Views on the Leader

In order to gain profound understanding of the greatness of the ideas and theories of Kim Jong Il, the outstanding thinker-theoretician of the present age, it is necessary to understand his idea-first doctrine and theory of the leader, and their theoretical merits. This is because his ideas and theories are based on the idea-first doctrine and developed and systematized with the theory of the leader as the core.

The idea-first doctrine and the theory of the leader are the starting point of all his thought and activity and are the ideas underlying his ideology and theories. The basic characteristic feature of Kim Jong Il's ideas lies in that new principles and propositions were evolved, and profound theories were developed on the basis of the idea-first doctrine and with the theory of the leader as the core.

Kim Jong Il, a genius in thought and theory, said concerning the idea-first doctrine,

"Our Party separated ideology from culture and advanced the theory on ideology that ideological consciousness decides everything."

That ideological consciousness decides everything means that the factor decisive to people's actions is ideological consciousness.

It has been an important and pressing question awaiting scientific expo-



sition how to regard the role of ideological consciousness in human activity so as to harness nature and reform society. Viewed in historical retrospect, it can be said that idealism made a mystery of the role of ideological consciousness, and materialism before Marxism failed to see the role of ideological consciousness. Proceeding from the principle that social being decides social consciousness, Marxist philosophy maintains that consciousness reflects being and reacts on it. However, Marxist philosophy reduced the role of consciousness mainly to the role of knowledge.

Human consciousness is mainly divided into knowledge and ideas, according to its source and substance.

Basing himself on the scientific exposition that, unlike knowledge, ideological consciousness is the consciousness which reflects vital human needs and the interests related to man, Kim Jong Il put forward the idea-first doctrine that human thought is basic to the transformation of nature and society, and that everything is decided by ideas.

The idea-first doctrine is the view he has maintained since his university days. In early 1962 he analysed the Marxist-Leninist classics' view that ideological consciousness is decided by material conditions and lags behind their changes as follows:

...Of course it is true that material production and mental production are closely related, and economic development exerts a great influence on the development of ideological consciousness. However, the view that ideological consciousness is only decided by material conditions, or that it reflects only the objective world or that it lags behind actuality cannot be said to be quite right.

"The history of human thought proves that progressive ideas representing the age express the needs and desires of the masses of the people before anything else, and always precede actuality."

Kim Jong Il has awakened officials to the principle of the idea-first doctrine ever since he began to work in the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and has seen to it that the line of giving precedence to ideological work advanced by President Kim Il Sung has been carried out.

In April 1967, he criticized some dogmatists who maintained that "giving precedence to ideological revolution infringes on materialism concerning the primacy of matter", and he labeled those who reduced man to matter in general on the plea that man was material existence and who negated the role of ideological consciousness in revolution and construction on the

plea that consciousness was a concept distinct from material existence as cruder ignoramuses than the classic philosophers who argued whether matter or consciousness was primary and as pseudo materialists. He stressed that ideological consciousness reflects the interests of the people and was not given by God.

Ideological consciousness is possessed only by man who is a social being, and its characteristic feature is that, unlike knowledge, it always reflects the needs and interests of the people, manifesting itself in people's mind and attitude toward matter and phenomena. This is the most accurate theoretical formulation of the essence of ideological consciousness.

The Juche idea maintains that the idea-first doctrine is an original one which scientifically makes clear that ideological consciousness is the decisive factor in human activity on the supposition of the material character of the world, and has nothing to do with idealism which negates the objective source of consciousness itself.

In his *On the Art of the Cinema* and many other immortal classics, Kim Jong Il gave a profound exposition of the essence, role of ideological consciousness and the law-governed process of its formation and development and clearly defined the place of the idea-first doctrine that ideas are the basic factor and decide everything.

He clarified the law-governed process of the formation and development of consciousness that consciousness is formed on the basis of people's class origin, economic life, socio-historical circumstances and environment, and is consolidated and develops to a higher stage through practical struggle.

The idea-first doctrine makes it clear that man must have ideological consciousness of independence to be an independent and creative being. Consciousness of independence is the consciousness that one is master of one's destiny and has the will to shape one's own destiny. It is easy to approach the question of ideological consciousness if it is understood that consciousness of independence is contrary to the idea of slavish submission, whose typical expression is flunkeyism.

Consciousness of independence plays a decisive role in the reformation movement for the people's independence. Only when man has consciousness of independence can he embark on the struggle against the oppressors who infringe upon and violate independence. The reformation movement begins by awakening people to progressive ideas and ends with victory due

to the inexhaustible strength of the people equipped with progressive ideas. Therefore, for revolution it is necessary to make the people, the masters of the revolution, have a sense of independence.

Kim Jong Il's idea-first doctrine maintains that whether or not one fights for independence of the nation and the people depends on the ideology of the people rather than on their class origin. People's actions are based and dependent on their social and class status. However, social and class status exert an influence on people's actions through ideological consciousness. Therefore, people coming from rich families, when they are awakened politically, join the struggle for independence of the people.

People must be appraised by their ideas and actions, and it is necessary to trust and join hands with those who contribute to social progress and the cause of independence of the people, regardless of their social and class origin. This is the Juche-oriented viewpoint and attitude towards people of different classes and strata clarified by Kim Jong Il's idea-first doctrine. Viewed in this light, it can be seen that benevolent politics, all-embracing politics, based on Kim Jong Il's philosophy of trust and love, that is admired by all, are rooted in the idea-first doctrine.

The idea-first doctrine holds that the people's will and fighting ability displayed in the reformation movement depends on ideological consciousness.

The creativity of the people is inexhaustible, but when they are not awakened ideologically it is impossible to give full play to it. Hence, the idea-first doctrine regards attaching primary importance to ideas as a principle never to be departed from in the revolution and reconstruction.

Kim Jong Il's idea-first doctrine is the omnipotent instrument for ensuring victory of the social reformation movement, and the banner to ensure victory in leading the people to the ideal society. The ideological and theoretical genius of Kim Jong Il which evolved the brilliant idea-first doctrine and his warm love for the people are praiseworthy indeed.

The over one hundred-year-long history of the international revolutionary movement has proved the truth that the leader plays the decisive role in shaping the destiny of the people. Nevertheless, the previous revolutionary ideas of the working class failed to establish the correct theory on the leader.

It is Kim Jong Il, the outstanding thinker-theoretician of our age, who has systematized the theory of the leader into an integrated whole on the

basis of a scientific exposition of the position and role of the leader.

In the revolution the question of the leader lies at the core. It is impossible to make revolution only with the desires of the people. Isn't it? There must be the brain, the centre which provides ideas, tactics and strategy and unity. The leader is the brain and the centre," he said.

In the history of philosophy it was long argued whether the people or an individual plays the decisive role in the course of history. However, before Marxism the view that history was made and the destiny of the people was decided by an outstanding individual, namely, by a lord, a hero or a famous general was prevalent.

Such a wrong view was demolished by Marxist historical materialism. Marxism holds that history is not created by heroes, and that the people play the decisive role in historical development. Such a Marxist view was established on the theoretical framework that the mode of production underlies social development and that the motive force of socio-historical development is the conflict between the productive forces and the relations of production, and that the process of historical development is the process of natural history. Hence Marxism-Leninism reveals a theoretical error in aiming to differentiate the leader of the masses from an individual, and reduced the role of the leader into the role of an individual. Kim Jong Il drew the historic conclusion that the leader of the masses is the brain of the masses, but not an individual, and that the role of the masses must not be set against that of the leader in historical development.

In his article, *Leader and the Succession to His Cause*, Professor Bortshchov of Kiev University of Ukraine expressed the view, "In Korea the view of the leader has been established differently from that in other countries. Marxism-Leninism leaves theoretical room for opportunists to disparage the authority of the outstanding leader, labelling it cult of personality, because it regards the outstanding leader as an individual. According to Juche-oriented revolutionary theory, the leader is not an individual but the centre of the main agent of the revolution, which is composed of the leader, the party and the masses of people. The leader is the centre of the socio-political organism, and the centre of ideas, leadership and unity, and plays the decisive role in shaping the destiny of the people, just as the brain does in human activity. The successor to the leader inherits his absolute authority and decisive role. With this theoretical premise, it is quite natural that the people adore the leader and constitute an integrated whole with him, have

the same ideas and breathe the same air as him and share his fate. Just as it is hard for those who have only studied elementary mathematics to understand higher mathematics, so it may be difficult for those who hold the freedom and equality of an individual supreme to understand such relations of dependence and adoration between the leader and the people and their very close ties. But I understand it fully, and I am of the same opinion."

Kim Jong Il's idea that the leader, who is the top brain of the people and the centre of unity and leadership, plays the decisive role in shaping the destiny of the people is an original idea based on a new exposition of the main agent of revolution.

His proposition makes it clear that the main agent of revolution is composed of the leader, the party and the people and is formed in such a way that the party and the people are united behind the leader organizationally and ideologically.

"For the popular masses to be an independent subject of the revolution, they must be united into one organization with one ideology under the guidance of the party and the leader. Only the masses who are united in this way, can shape their destiny independently and creatively. The subject of the revolution means the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses.

It is the popular masses who create and advance history in any age and in any society. However, in exploiter society the popular masses have had to carry the heavy burden of creating history, not according to their own will, but, in most cases, according to the will of the ruling classes. The masses of the people in this situation cannot claim to have become the subject of history. Only when the people are rallied ideologically purposefully and organizationally around the leader, with their vanguard organization, can they become the genuine subject of history, the independent subject of the revolution that shapes their destiny independently and creatively. Figuratively speaking, as man cannot act as an adult till the skeleton hardens, the heart becomes strong and the brain develops in his body, so the popular masses cannot become the subject of the revolution and fulfil their mission and role when they do not constitute the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the people.

In this sense, the appearance of the people with independence and creativity as the independent subject of history and the appearance of the leader can be said to have the same origin. In the true sense of the word the

history of the popular leader and that of an independent people begins at the same time, and from then on the real history of mankind begins.

Kim Jong Il developed and perfected the theory of the leader combining it with the theory of the sociopolitical organism. He said:

"Since the sociopolitical organism consists of many people it needs a focal point which has unified command of the activities of the social organism. Just as a man's brain is the centre of his life, so the leader, the top brain in a sociopolitical community is the centre of the life of this community."

If the subject of the revolution is called the "integrated whole of the leader, the party and the people" in respect of their composition and the way they are combined, it can be said to be the "sociopolitical organism" in respect of the character of the mode of its existence and activity.

The individuals who constitute a sociopolitical community each have different vital needs and abilities.

In such circumstances for the members of society to live and develop independently, merged into a sociopolitical organism, it is necessary to meet the different needs and make use of the abilities of individuals in a unified manner in combination with the common needs and abilities of the community and there must be a focal point for the unified command of the life of the community. This focal point is precisely the leader. The leader is the centre which analyses, synthesizes and integrates the interests of the masses and their independent desires; at the same time, he is the centre which has unified command of their creative activities so as to put these into effect.

Thus is the position and role of the leader in the sociopolitical organism which Kim Jong Il has clarified.

The Juche-oriented view of the leader provides people with the most correct view of the leader.

Kim Jong Il gave the following definition of the revolutionary view of the leader.

The revolutionary view of the leader presents the most correct view and standpoint concerning the position and role of the leader in the revolutionary struggle and the attitude and stand of sincerely holding him in high esteem.

The Juche-oriented revolutionary view of the leader gives the most correct view and standpoint that the leader holds key position and plays the



decisive role in furthering the revolutionary cause of the working class.

The leader's position and decisive role in carrying out the cause of independence of the people are inherited by his successor. This is because this cause is a historical cause which is promoted and realized over generations, and because the successor to the leader is the leader of the people who carries it forward through the generations.

The successor to the leader who is boundlessly loyal to the leader and, has unexcelled wisdom, outstanding leadership ability and high moral reputation is acclaimed as the leader of the people, holds the same position as the leader and plays the decisive role in furthering the cause of independence.

It can be said that a people with an outstanding leader at the helm is a people with a high degree of independence and creativity, and that the society which produces outstanding leaders through the generations is a developed and advanced society. Consequently the greatest fortune for a nation and a people is to have an outstanding leader, and the greatest misfortune is to have the wrong leader. The authority of the leader means that of the country and the greatness of the leader precisely implies that of the nation.

The Juche-oriented revolutionary view of the leader shows the most correct stand and attitude of holding the leader in high esteem and following him sincerely.

It is a manifestation of noble sentiment emanating from a thoroughgoing understanding and high degree of consciousness of the leader's position and role that all the people hold the leader in high esteem and follow him sincerely.

The true and scientific character and justness of the Juche-oriented view of the leader clarified by Kim Jong Il have been irrefutably proved and are winning more and more sympathizers throughout the world.

In his lecture "On the Juche-Oriented View of the Leader" given in March 1987 at the Panios Political University in Athens, Doctor Pierre Boldeau, who was the Professor of Philosophy of the No. 1 University of Paris, emphasized, "The leader and the people constitute an integrated whole. What is it that controls your actions? Of course, they are regulated and controlled by your brain. Nevertheless, you do not consider yourself the slave of your brain. Likewise is the relation between the leader and the people. Consequently genuine democracy is possible only under the guidance of the leader and the individuality of individuals can come into bloom

under the guidance of the leader."

Nowadays it is said in South Korea that the Juche idea cannot be considered to have been grasped if the view of the leader, which constitutes the core of the Juche idea, is not understood.

It is generally agreed that the services of Kim Jong Il who advanced the view of the leader are services to be recorded in gold letters in history along with his ideological and theoretical contributions.

### **III. The Leader of the Workers' Party of Korea**

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## 1. The Leader and the Party

### 1) Kim Jong Il and the Position of the Party

The party is a political lever aimed at effecting the thoughts and guidance of the leader. The party's leadership entirely depends on none other than its leader, and so the party and its leader are inseparable from one another.

Standing at the helm of the WPK, he is resolved to realize the revolutionary cause of Juche through his guidance.

In the world history of politics, the party has appeared as a political means of political force.

The working-class party was a political weapon for liberating the workers and other labouring masses. In other words, it has performed its historical mission as a political instrument for the realization of the ideas of the leaders of the working class. This marks the essential difference between bourgeois and proletarian political parties.

Kim Jong Il takes it as his life-long duty to succeed to the Juche-oriented cause of revolution and bring it to final victory by commanding the WPK as a political weapon. To him, the Party is not at all an organ of power or a dictatorship but is the medium to push ahead with revolution and construction, in order to realize the cause of independence of the masses, that is, it is the political lever for the realization of the Juche idea.

Exerting himself for the realization of the Juche-oriented cause, he has a firm grip on the WPK, founded and consolidated by President Kim Il Sung who has initiated the cause of Juche, as an important medium of politics.

How to consolidate the party as a political weapon and how to succeed to its leadership in furthering the revolutionary cause is a principled question that determines the success of revolution — this is the historical lesson drawn from the international revolutionary movement.

As for the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states, the leaders who blazed the way for the revolutionary cause in their countries had conducted the building of socialism through the political medium of the party. Afterwards, however, revisionist leaders allowed the multi-par-

ty system to sweep into the political arena, so unmanning the party and eventually ending tragically, that is, deserting the cause of socialism for the comeback of capitalism.

How to succeed to the leadership of the party in carrying forward the revolutionary cause — this found a solution for the first time when Kim Jong Il formulated the Juche-based theory of the party. What is the essence of the party? Giving a correct definition of this is the basis and starting point for the theoretical enunciation of the party.

Generally speaking, a party is a political organization of the people united by virtue of a common ideology and common ideals. It represents the demands of a definite class and social community or the common desires of society, and fights to realize them. The party bears a class character, and its essence is that it serves as a weapon of class struggle — this was the established view prevalent until recently.<sup>1</sup>

The theory of the party based on the Juche idea was the first to give scientific elucidation of the essential nature of a working-class party.

Expounding the Juche-oriented theory of the party, which proceeds from the philosophical principle of the Juche idea and whose nucleus is the revolutionary outlook on the leader, Kim Jong Il explained the essential nature of the party as follows.

"The party is the core of the masses, and it is rallied closely around the leader organizationally and ideologically, it is the pivot of the independent sociopolitical organism."

1 Bourgeois political parties regard a party as the means to seize state power. Hussbach defined it as a body uniting people for the seizure of state power, Gitchin declared it a citizens' organization aimed at the assumption of state power, and Einstein held that whatever group becomes a political party if it aims to assume the post of head of government.

The Marxist-Leninist classics assert the working-class party to be a weapon of class struggle. Marx saw that the organization of the proletariat into a political party was essential for victory of social revolution and for the abolition of classes. Its ultimate goal. Lenin and Stalin defined the party as a weapon of proletarian dictatorship.

Kim Jong Il's definition has two original aspects in its theoretical exposition.

First, he stipulated that the party is the core of the masses



The Marxist-Leninist classics view the party as an organized detachment involving a definite section of the people united by class interests or an advance guard of that class to realize its interests. At the same time, since it is an offspring and weapon of the class struggle, they thought the party would become unnecessary with the end of classes and class struggle. So it would naturally cease to exist with the withering away of the proletarian dictatorship. But this has proved to be fallacious in the light of the new circumstances of the present day and the historical conditions when the broad masses have become the masters of their own destiny, if a political party is hard to serve a definite class it can in no way fulfil its mission as a revolutionary party. The present age demands that a working class party resolve all questions in an independent and creative manner with a view to bringing about the full-fledged independence of the entire masses.

By laying down that the party is the core detachment of the masses and their guiding force, he shed new light on the question concerning the future building of the party. In other words, the party will exist so long as the masses, the subject of history, do, and it will grow stronger in pace with the cause of independence for the people.

Secondly, the party plays a pivotal role in the sociopolitical organism, an integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses.

Speaking of the centre of the organism, it points to the backbone that plays a pivotal role in ensuring the action of the organism. In man it is the central nerves that play the basic function of transmitting regulating and controlling the brain's orders to each organ of the body.

The same is true of the sociopolitical organism in which the party implements the thoughts and leadership of the leader, its focal point, and leads the masses in line with his purpose. The party plays a decisive role in the organizational and ideological unity of the leader and the masses. Owing to these functions of the party, the masses are awakened and organized and become the independent subject of revolution, the master of their own destiny.

The masses are mighty, but their power offers itself only when they are led by the party and the leader.

His proposition of the party as the pivot of the sociopolitical organism implies such congenial relations whereby the leader's cause is at once the

party's, and his leadership is the party's.

Accordingly, when we say that the leader's cause is carried forward to realization by the successor through the generations, it means that he inherits the cause of the party. For the party's cause to be realized by the successor, it is necessary to cement the party's foundations so that it may serve to be the party of the successor in the furthering of the leader's cause.

Laying the foundations of the party means consolidating the groundwork for developing it, the party which was founded by the leader, so as to be the party of his successor. In other words, it is to lay the organizational and ideological basis for strengthening it into the party of the successor and for furthering the leader's guidance through the generations.

The strengthening of the party's foundations is of great importance at all times, but it is of greater importance when leadership is transferred to the successor.

The vicissitudes in the international revolutionary movement have provided history with painful lessons involving ordeals and fatal disasters in the succession to the revolutionary cause, owing to failure to consolidate the party's foundations. Who is to blame for the collapse of the ruling party in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states? Responsibility does not lie in the party members who had been faithful to the cause of the party, but in the failure to maintain continuity in leadership.

The conversion of the party ranks into a crack contingent and the organizational and ideological consolidation of the party guarantee the successful continuity of the party's cause through successive generations, the use of the party, the guiding, pivotal force for the masses, as a political weapon helps to bring the leader's cause to ultimate victory—this is the opinion and belief of Kim Jong Il.

Thus, based on the Juche-oriented thinking on party building, he has successfully advanced the cause of building the party to be the medium of leadership and a political weapon for the successor. This is the historical achievement he has attained guaranteeing the victory of the Juche cause.

## 2) To Become a Juche-Oriented Party, the Leader's Party

A Juche-based revolutionary party is a party of new type whose guiding

idea is the Juche idea and whose social and class foundation consists of the workers and the broad masses in general.

The characteristics of this party are that it is thoroughly revolutionary party whose guiding idea is the Juche idea. It has firmly established within itself a monolithic ideological system and attained indestructible unity and cohesion. It is distinguished for its powerful organization and strong discipline and is inseparably tied to the masses.

Building a Juche-oriented party means building a party that will realize the cause of independence by blazing the path of revolution and modelling the whole party after the Juche idea, the guiding idea of the era of independence. This implies the birth of the leader's party that distinguishes itself in essence from other political parties of the working class, to say nothing of bourgeois parties.

The true image of the WPK as a Juche-based party and the leader's party manifests itself in the fact that even after the passing away of the great President Kim Il Sung, all party members and the popular masses without exception adore him as ever and under the slogan "Our great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung will always be with us" they pledge themselves to realize the leader's cause of Juche under the guidance of Kim Jong Il.

What is the true image of the party as a political lever in the revolutionary movement and in the building of socialism? Although this was the fundamental issue facing party building, no existing theories had given the answer. The founders of Marxism-Leninism did not deal with the matter of party building in the period following the establishment of the socialist system since they thought that the party would disappear with the disappearance of classes. Moreover, since they failed to deal correctly with the question of the leader's position and role in the revolutionary movement, they were unable to outline the general objective of party building and the ways and means for its implementation proceeding from the leader-centred viewpoint.

Kim Jong Il was alone farsighted enough to raise for the first time the building of a working-class party in conjunction with the leader's role. His extensive theoretical exposition of the party's essential nature and mission, the general objective and basic principles of party building and of the party work system and methods proceed from the Juche idea and the fundamental principles of the revolutionary view of the leader.

Based on the sociohistorical principles of the Juche idea and the revolutionary view of the leader, he explained that the party whose mission is to realize the people's cause of independence is organized and led by the leader so that it must be built and fortified to be the leader's party.

He advanced the programme for imbuing the WPK with the Juche idea, with the intention of making it the party of its leader, President Kim Il Sung, for ever.

Originally the WPK was a Juche-based party founded with the aim of putting the Juche idea, the revolutionary thought of President Kim Il Sung, into effect. So its building and activities were conducted from the start in line with the Juche idea. The history of the building and activities of the WPK is precisely the course of its being modelled on the Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il pushed to a new higher plane the cause of transforming the WPK after the Juche idea to meet the requirements of revolutionary development, and set this as the general objective in party building. Transforming the whole party with the Juche idea indicates that the composition of its membership and its activities conform with the Juche idea. As to the composition of its membership, the Juche-oriented party is one whose ranks have become an elite contingent, in other words, it is a party of core elements who accept the leader's revolutionary ideology as their own and hold loyalty to him as dear as life. Improving party activities as required by the Juche idea means conducting them in strict observance of the idea, theory and method of Juche.

The Juche-type revolutionary party is unprecedented in the world history of political parties. What one should not overlook here is Kim Jong Il's emphasis that the Juche-oriented Workers' Party of Korea is one that champions and represents the interests of the nation and the masses.

People form a nation and the nation lives in the motherland. The motherland is virtually the mother of the people and the cradle of their life and happiness. Independence which is essential for the life of the nation and of humankind is directly linked with the fate of the country. The WPK is the resolute champion of such invaluable independence of the nation.

If the party is to evolve into an eternal Juche type party, the leader's party, he stressed, this needs steadfast and pure inheritance of the bloodline of Juche. He said:

"We must strongly defend the traditions of Juche and carry them forward without tarnishing their purity.

"Our Party's traditions of Juche are the great Comrade Kim Il Sung's ideology and theory, his revolutionary exploits and battle experience, and his method of work."

The cause of independence advanced by President Kim Il Sung under the banner of the Juche idea is a sacred undertaking to be carried out from generation to generation. The bloodline that runs through it is the Juche lineage. If the working-class party is to be strengthened as the party of the leader, blood of the Juche type must run through it generation after generation, just as one and the same type of blood runs in the blood vessels of man. This is the cherished view of Kim Jong Il.

Khrushchev and other modern revisionists in the leadership of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union ran amuck, abusing Lenin's ideology and his revolutionary exploits. Consequently, the traditions of the Leninist party were forsaken, resulting in the total collapse of the CPSU.

Analysing the lessons of the international revolutionary movement, Kim Jong Il declared that the stand and approach one takes towards the revolutionary traditions reflects one's attitude towards the leader, and that this is the touchstone that shows whether or not one is willing to advance the leader's revolutionary cause and bring it to victory.

All his thoughts and endeavours for the inheritance and implementation of the Juche cause initiated by the great President have been oriented to embodying and glorifying the revolutionary traditions of the Party. *Let Us Firmly Equip Ourselves with Revolutionary Traditions, Let Us Inherit and Develop the Juche Revolutionary Traditions* and many other works authored by him speak well of his resolute stand and attitude, that is, he regards the inestimable wealth.

The revolutionary traditions of the WPK constitute priceless assets and the lifeline of the revolution in implementing the Juche cause of revolution, only when one defends them can one emerge victorious in the Juche cause. This is the unyielding conviction and purpose of Kim Jong Il.

### 3) The Party's Guidance Is the Lifeline in Realizing the Cause of Independence

The revolutionary party, born of the requirements of the revolutionary movement to hew out the destiny of the masses, should possess the scientific

theory of leadership for the fulfilment of the cause of independence of the masses.

It is common knowledge that the Workers' Party of Korea, though it suffered more difficult conditions than other parties in guiding the cause of independence of the people, has come all along the victorious road, avoiding twists and turns.

Kim Jong Il has systematized and evolved the theory of the Party's leadership advanced by President Kim Il Sung and thus elevated it to a new plane of development.

He said that the party's leadership over the revolution and construction was in essence political guidance given to all popular activities for the realization of independence. He remarked:

"The leadership of a revolutionary party to the revolution and construction should be political leadership."

Guidance is posed as a lawful demand when the masses realize their independence as the subject of history. The fact that the masses are the subject of history finds expression in the creative movement for independence. Independence and creativity are the mode of existence for the masses as the subject of history.

Historical progress has been made through their movement for independence and creativity. However, the successful advance of this popular movement is conditioned by correct guidance. Only when the masses are given correct political guidance can their desire for independence become a common objective of struggle, and their creative ability become unified and organized strength.

Although the masses are the makers of history, it is only correct political guidance that can secure their position and role as the subject in the progress of history. Therefore the unity of the guidance and the masses is invariably important in all stages of historical development.

Particularly, the guidance of the masses becomes of greater importance in the revolutionary movement undertaken by the working-class-led masses. The cause of independence, a movement of well-organized and highly-awakened people, cannot proceed successfully unless it is given correct guidance. Apart from the party's leadership it is impossible to awaken and organize the masses, put forward the correct programmes and advance accurate strategy and tactics. In short, the masses as the subject of history can emerge as the independent subject of revolution on condition that they



attain organizational and ideological unity with the revolutionary party as the pivot, and carve out their destiny under its leadership. In particular, strengthening the subject of the socialist cause and increasing its role is unthinkable apart from the party's guidance.

Explaining the party's guidance of the revolution and construction, Kim Jong Il noted that this means putting forward the right target of struggle, so reflecting the desires and interests of the masses and arousing them to reach it. In a nutshell, to serve the masses for the implementation of their genuine interests is the essence of the party's guidance.

Although the party's guidance is ever essential at all stages of revolutionary struggle to secure the independence of the masses, he emphasized that it was the lifeline for the realization of the socialist cause.

His statement that the party's leadership is the lifeline for the cause of socialism is grounded on the truth that progress can be made in the socialist cause only by virtue of the strategic and tactical guidance of the party, strengthening of internal force and enhancement of its role.

The cause of independence proceeds in parallel with serious class struggle, and it is an arduous and complicated undertaking to create what is new while blazing an untrodden path. Accordingly, correct strategy and tactics in the struggle alone can ensure that the cause of socialism advances victoriously towards its clear-cut destination and through its own methods. No other political organization can substitute for the party in its position and role as the headquarters of revolution, which indicates the correct strategy and tactics for the building of socialism and organizes and leads the struggle for its completion. Of all the machinery including state power and the organizations in socialist society, the party alone is capable of effecting political, strategic and tactical leadership over society and the revolution. The WPK is the pivotal organization aimed at promoting the ideology and guidance of the leader, the vanguard detachment comprising the most distinguished people selected from among the working class and the working people, the supreme political organization that guides all other organizations in society and the embodiment of kinship relations with the masses. This is why the WPK illuminates the aim and destination of the struggle, provides the ways and means for carrying out the work of the government organs and the working people's all other organizations, and gives political guidance to them. In this way the WPK exercises the most correct strategic and tactical guidance over the revolution and construction, so promoting

the successful advance of people-centred socialism.

The definition of party guidance as the lifeline for the cause of socialism is based on the fact that it is possible to defend the revolutionary principles of socialism only when the party's leadership is maintained.

Adherence to revolutionary principles in the building of socialism means embodying the basic demands and interests of the working class and of other working masses to the last. In other words, the circumstances and conditions may change in the course of realizing the socialist cause, but the fundamental desires and position of the masses in their endeavour to achieve independence will never change. Since independence is vital to the masses and the nation, the party as the advance detachment of the working class and the masses should not turn its back on the basic desire of the masses for independence and on their interests, even though difficulties and trials crop up in its way. The history of the revolutionary struggle to secure the independence of the masses shows that adherence to revolutionary principles makes the cause of independence progress despite great difficulties and ordeals, whereas the neglect of revolutionary principles changes its colour and abandons it halfway.

That the party's leadership is the lifeline that determines the fate of socialism finds good expression in the former Soviet Union, which suffered the collapse of socialism. The imperialists-led modern revisionists who adopted the decision "renouncing the party's leadership" in March 1990, advocated the "multiparty system" with a view to relegating the working-class party to the position of an insignificant opposition party.

The multiparty system by nature is a party system peculiar to bourgeois society; it has nothing to do with socialist society. It reflects the class relations in capitalist society marked by the division of people into exploiting and exploited classes, and the conflicting interests even among the exploiter classes, and is a product of political feuds among different classes and various communities. Although the dominating forces want this as democracy, the multiparty system is nothing but a camouflage to cover up the essence of bourgeois politics, as is proved by the practice in south Korea.

A socialist society has no class basis for the multiparty system. The class basis of a multiparty system lies in the existence of classes and strata and communities pursuing different interests. But a socialist society is free from class antagonisms, and only the socialist working people exist, pursu-

ing the same interests as the working class. They form one and the same sociopolitical organism and are united for the pursuit of a common objective and interests, that is, the building of an ideal society based on the complete realization of independence.

## 2. Modelling the Whole Party on the Juche Idea

The respected leader Kim Jong Il is a genius on the party building who has ensured the successful realization of the cause of transforming the whole Party after the Juche idea, which guarantees monolithic ideology and leadership.

He has, for the first time in the history of political parties ensured monolithic ideas and leadership, turned the whole Party into an elite contingent, trained all Party members into cadres and improved the Party's work system and method of work and thus consolidated the WPK as President Kim Il Sung's Party. Thus he has set an example of world importance in the building of a working-class Party and demonstrated his distinguished ability as a leader.

### 1) Monolithic Ideological System Established throughout the Party

In the hundreds of years of history of political parties, the Workers' Party of Korea alone has established monolithic ideology and leadership.

Ideological oneness and unitary guidance cannot be mentioned in the bourgeois political parties, subject as they are to internal discord and factional strife, antagonism and feuds and constant changes. But, for a working-class party whose basic mission is to put its leader's revolutionary ideology into effect, it is a natural requirement for the party to be imbued with his ideas and for his leadership to be secured within the party.

The establishment of a monolithic ideological system within the party remained a question throughout the nearly 150-year-long history of the international revolutionary movement, and was a pressing issue awaiting

solution for the building of a working-class party.

Giving guidance to the work of the WPK, Kim Jong Il successfully solved this difficult yet important task.

President Kim Il Sung put forward the idea of the need for a monolithic ideological system and for a system of unitary leadership within the Party. From the first days of founding the WPK, he considered the establishment of the Party's ideological system as the basic line for Party building, and he struggled to overcome factionalism, flunkeyism and dogmatism that obstruct the unity and cohesion of the Party. Kim Jong Il, who is infinitely loyal to the great President, took upon himself a heavy burden, that was to establish the Party's ideological system at the time, regarding it as his lifelong duty to consolidate the WPK and make it a completely Juche-oriented Party.

In the mid 1960s when he began working in the Party Central Committee, he emphasized the theoretical and practical need to establish President Kim Il Sung's ideological system throughout the Party.

He revised the expression of the time, "Party's ideological system", as the "monolithic ideological system of the Party" and gave energetic guidance to the endeavours for the establishment of the monolithic ideological system of the Party, Kim Il Sung's ideological system.

Establishing the monolithic ideological system of the Party means; first, arming all Party members with the leader's revolutionary ideas and their embodiment, Party policies, secondly, uniting all Party members behind the leader and, thirdly, carrying out the revolution and construction under the unitary guidance of the leader.

Here a matter of primary importance was above all to equip all Party members with the ideology of the leader. When all Party members accept the leader's ideology as their sole conviction, it is possible to prevent any ideological trends of different tinges from infiltrating the Party. In a nutshell, accepting the Juche idea as one's faith and creed is of essence in the establishment of the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Therefore, Kim Jong Il first defined Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideology as an integration of the ideology, theory and method of Juche and proclaimed it the guiding ideology for the age of independence, setting an immortal milestone in the annals of the Workers' Party of Korea. On this basis Kim Jong Il saw to it that all Party members grasped the righteousness and originality of the Juche idea and upheld it as their conviction.

At the same time, in his endeavours for the establishment of the mono-

Libic ideological system of the Party, he emphasized that all Party members cherish loyalty for the leader, regarding it as their duty and as proceeding from their faith.

The WPK appeals to all to trust and follow only the leader in joy and in sorrow, even when at the lowest point of their sufferings, noting that they are persons of true loyalty. Training all Party members to be loyal workers armed with the correct view of the leader is his ultimate aim through his striving to establish the Party's monolithic ideological system.

Responding to Kim Jong Il's intention and guidance, the WPK in the 1970s conducted the education of the Party members in loyalty to the leader as the central task in its work. In the 1980s, it launched the campaign to learn from the models of loyalty exemplified by young communists active at the dawn of the Korean revolution and entering the '90s, it became the rule governing its members' life to make loyalty to the Party and the leader their "faith, conscience, morality and the creed."

During these periods, the WPK witnessed such epochal changes as the rapid growth of the ranks of the vanguard elements, fresh with the blood of the Juche type.

So as to establish the monolithic ideological system of the Party, he directed particular attention to the education of Party members and the working people in the revolutionary traditions of the Party.

Since the WPK's revolutionary tradition is the tradition of Juche created by the great leader, only when all its members are armed with this tradition is it possible for them to establish the ideological system of the leader.

Kim Jong Il has laid down that revolutionary tradition is the historical root and eternal base of revolution. A tree without roots, a building without foundations cannot exist. So none can talk of overemphasis of the significance of revolutionary tradition.

Revolutionary tradition in itself is invaluable, but its value is not confined to tradition alone. Greater significance lies in the fact that just as a man's life is mainly aimed by the absorption of nourishment, so the people grew to be true workers through education in revolutionary tradition in the society and the state. To enrich the solid bases and to be a guarantee by revolutionary tradition.

Proceeding from such a viewpoint, he set it as an important policy to turn the old revolutionary battlefields and historical revolutionary sites resplendent with the President's revolutionary ideas and exploits into a sanctuary

for education in the Party's monolithic idea, and pushed ahead with this energetically. Old revolutionary battlefields and historical revolutionary sites are of great importance not only for the preservation of valuable historical relics but also for the education of Party members and the working masses. For this reason Kim Jong Il saw to it that all Party members thoroughly equip themselves with the President's revolutionary ideas through their visits to historical revolutionary sites and to revolutionary museums.

History, they say, is the witness of the age or the mirror reflecting the days gone by. Kim Jong Il perceives history as having importance today.

He used to climb Mt. Paektu in swirling snowstorms at the head of a group of leading officials, stressing that educating in revolutionary tradition does not aim at the simple teaching of historical facts but is intended to make the people acquire the noble revolutionary ideas and fighting spirit with which the revolutionary forerunners overcame all difficulties and won brilliant victories under the President's guidance.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle Kim Il Sung overcame countless difficulties and hardships that surpass human imagination. "This is what we call the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu," said he, and went on: "The revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu is the offensive spirit with which one breaks through every manner of difficulty, the indomitable fighting spirit with which one rises up to fight again even after falling a hundred times, the noble revolutionary spirit of a fighter who prefers death to renouncing his faith and the lofty spirit of a revolutionary to build by himself and at all costs a paradise for the people."

After having established a system of educating in revolutionary tradition, he ensured that this education be intensified relying on the "large open air anti-Japanese revolutionary museum."

The grand monuments in Samjiyon, built at Kim Jong Il's initiative, fully embody his thoughts on revolutionary tradition and are a gift worthy of an artist. They serve as a school for the people for education in the historical roots of the Korean revolution and as a witness of history, presenting as they do a complete panorama of life in the past, the present and the future. The grand Samjiyon monuments are a masterpiece which attests to the sagacity of Kim Jong Il, and they will go down for ever with his name moving from mouth to mouth.

In the years of his preeminent guidance for the establishment of monolithic ideological system within the WPK, he proposed new principles.



Simultaneously measures were taken to celebrate President Kim Il Sung's birthday as the greatest holiday of the nation, and huge projects were started to erect the Tower of the Juche Idea and the Arch of Triumph to immortalize his great revolutionary exploits.

With the establishment of the monolithic ideological system within the Party, all the members of the WPK have become determined to be pillars who, upholding Generalissimo Kim Il Sung's lofty purpose as their watchword in life and struggle, loyally support Kim Jong Il's ideology and guidance and would lay down their lives on the road to the realization of the cause of Juche.

The work to establish monolithic leadership system in the WPK proceeded successfully in line with the campaign to attain monolithic ideological system of the Party.

Monolithic leadership of the Party means that the revolutionary leadership secures solid guidance from the heir to the leader in advancing the revolutionary cause of the working class.

Since the leading position and role of the leader are inherited by his successor in their entirety, the monolithic leadership of the successor should be secured throughout the party for the further development and strengthening of the party as the leader's party.

As Kim Jong Il has made clear, the Party's leadership should be monolithic, just as an orchestra is conducted by one baton.

If all the members of the party act separately, instead of being conducted by a baton, the party as the advanced party of the working class and the masses will turn into a club, and then it cannot ensure political guidance for the whole of society and, accordingly, it is impossible for it to take charge of the destiny of the masses and lead them along the right path.

The leadership system of the Party he spoke of means democratic centralism. He always emphasizes the need for democracy within the Party. While ensuring that all Party members volunteer their creative opinions unreservedly at Party meetings and exercise their rights to the fullest extent, he demands that once the opinions of the whole Party are put together and adopted as the decision or the line of the Party Central Committee these should be executed unconditionally. Concerning issues of Party- and nationwide importance, he demands that these be focused and reported to the Party Central Committee, and that the whole Party act with one accord in line with its decision. Under such monolithic leadership, the destiny of all

Party members and the masses is protected, and their independence and creativity guaranteed in the true sense of the word.

## 2) To Train All Party Members to Be Cadres and Elite

The party is a political organization in which the people, having a common ideology and purpose, are united on a voluntary basis, and its master is the masses of its members. Accordingly the might of a party is determined by the organizational and ideological combat power of its members.

Kim Jong Il has advanced the line of strengthening the Party to become a party of cadres, regarding this as essential in transforming the Party after the Juche idea.

Conversion into a party of cadres is outstanding thinking and indicates the path for strengthening the ranks so as to form an elite contingent for the first time in the history of working-class parties.

Although there are numerous political parties in the world, none has ever raised and accomplished the task of turning the party into a party of cadres. This is an original and outstanding proposal which was raised and put into effect by none other than Kim Jong Il.

Strengthening the party ranks to become an elite contingent is the essential requirement for a Juche-oriented party.

A working-class party by nature is the vanguard detachment of the class and the core unit of the masses. Hence the need to fill the party ranks with vanguard fighters and to temper the members to become an elite force.

The building of a party of cadres has two aspects, first it means elevating the level of all cadres a step higher so that everyone is capable of undertaking the tasks set for one grade higher than one's position.

Cadres are the hard core and leadership members of the political machinery. The WPK values the cadres as its nucleus force and as the commanding personnel of the revolution who directly organize and guide the implementation of its lines and policies. It attaches great importance to improving their preparedness, proceeding from the viewpoint that it is cadres who exercise the Party's guidance over the revolution and construction.

Therefore if the capacity for work of the cadres of the WPK is enhanced, it will lead to a decisive increase in its combat power and in its

effect as leading force, owing to cadres' role as the core and as educators.

Another aspect of the conversion into a party of cadres is to raise the level of all the party members to bring all up to the standard of cadres.

Only when all the Party members are qualified to be cadres, and each of them is capable of reaching the next higher grade is it possible to turn the Party ranks into the elite force.

Here one should have a correct understanding of what is Kim Jong Il's true intention in turning the WPK into a cadre party. It is in essence to raise the political qualifications and working capacity of the leading workers and of other members of the Party. It has nothing to do with a party consisting of cadres and aristocrats or one, or with placing all Party members in the position of cadres. In short, strengthening the cadre party means tempering it to be an elite party and reaching a higher stage in improving Party leadership. In the building of the armed forces, if the commanding personnel are prepared to command the unit one grade higher than their present unit, and the soldiers are qualified to be junior commanders, the Korean People's Army will become an elite army and display the great might of each one being the equal of a hundred enemies in wartime. In the same way, an elite party will be ever victorious in the revolution and construction.

The building of a cadre party, an elite party, this is the high aim for the building of Party organizations which Kim Jong Il, the outstanding theoretician and master of leadership in Party building, alone can reach for and put into effect.

Then why should the WPK be fortified to become a cadre army? Above all, this should be seen from the principled viewpoint that the party which guides the transformation of the whole of society after the Juche idea should naturally become an invincible cadre army.

The building of an elite party puts forward the practical demand for the WPK to bring about a fresh uprising from the present phase of its achievements.

In the initial period of the WPK, when it was just founded and was growing into a mass party, the general standard of its members was not high. Under such conditions, stress was laid before anything else on training leading personnel and core members of the Party and on enhancing their vanguard role. Thenceforth the large contingent of core and elite members has grown through complex revolutionary struggle. At present, it

is the immediate task to prepare all Party members to be sociopolitical workers, well qualified politically and ideologically, technically and practically. In order to turn the WPK into an elite party, Kim Jong Il emphasised ideological education to train its leading personnel and members to become Juche-type revolutionaries whose world outlook is based on the Juche idea and who regard loyalty to the leader as their life and soul.

He put forward the slogan "Let the entire Party study!" and has taken positive measures to have all Party members and leading officials study hard with emphasis on the establishment of the Juche-oriented outlook on the world.

He has seen to it that the curricula of Party schools at all levels, including the Kim Il Sung Higher Party School, the training centre for the leading personnel of the WPK, be readjusted on the basis of the Juche idea. At the same time, the classics including the Kim Il Sung's *Works* (volume 1-46) the immortal library of Juche-oriented ideas, theories and methods, have been published on an extensive scale so that all cadres and members of the Party can grasp the guiding ideology which is the most correct in our age. In addition to the introduction of a well-regulated Party study system, he set it as a Party rule that each member should study for more than two hours every day.

In order to prevent leading officials from making mistakes because they lag behind the progress of reality, he ensured that they study Party policies and deepen their general knowledge at regular schools, taking leave from their work places for a definite period, and regular lectures are held for leading personnel.

When he is out in the localities for on-the-spot guidance, he takes responsible workers in the county Party organization with him. Walking through the fields he would say that a chief secretary of a county Party committee, who is in charge of a two hundredth part of the country, must acquire profound knowledge of Juche-based farming methods and a rich store of scientific and technical knowledge of agriculture, so that he can guide the administrative and economic work, including work in agriculture in an unerring way. Noting that when the leading personnel is proficient he can maintain his authority, he told them his personal experience.

"To tell the truth, when I first gave guidance in the field of literature and art I was young and had little experience. At the time, there were many old writers and talented directors who were described as great masters in

the world of art, and they were awfully self-assertive. In addition, master-apprentice relations were prevailing so they did not like to heed the opinions of ordinary people. It was by no means easy to mix with them and work with them. It didn't take too long, however, before these people who were obsessed with the conception of master-apprentice relations began to follow me. It seemed to take their fancy that after I had listened to an orchestral concert or saw the editing of a film, I discovered their essential defects, and I advised them how to improve their work. If I had guided them by dint of the Party's influence they would have neither opened their hearts nor followed me. It was not because they were influenced by official power or by a sense of obligation that they came to trust and follow me. Since I displayed ability from the beginning I was able to maintain authority and work properly in giving guidance in the domain of literature and art, a domain previously plagued with complexities and headaches. Functionaries must enjoy authority and lead the masses by displaying noble virtues and personality and practical ability."

Owing to his energetic guidance, the revolutionary habit of study has been established throughout the Party, and this has brought about radical change in the political and ideological qualifications of the Party members and in their guidance. Consequently the leading personnel of the WPK have improved their political and practical qualifications in keeping with the changes in reality, that is in keeping with the progress of humankind and of society, and they are creditably performing their mission as servants of the people, protectors of the political integrity of the people and scientific administrators of society.

Next, Kim Jong Il strengthened the Party cell and established the revolutionary traits of Party life throughout the Party in his bid for a cadre party, an elite party.

According to the Juche-based theory of the party, traits of party life mean in general the traits of party life and the manner of party work. The Party life of the WPK member does not simply mean that he or she is enrolled as a member. The importance of Party life is attached to the fact that every member should be well versed in the revolutionary thinking of the leader and in Party policies, its embodiment, and strive energetically to translate them into reality. Every member belongs to a definite Party organization and is educated, engages in political activity and refines his or her political integrity in the course of this. The Party organization is the protec-

tor and the mother, where the leader and Party members are tied in kinship and care for each other. It leads them to add lustre to their political integrity. Therefore the Party member cannot exist if separated from the Party organization.

This is Kim Jong Il's view and ethics on Party life.

He always sets an example to others in establishing the traits of Party life. He emphasizes that since there is neither higher nor lower member within the Party, so dual discipline is inadmissible, and that every Party member should exercise his or her obligations provided in the Party rules, and be affiliated with a Party cell, the lowest unit of the Party. He personally receives assignments from his Party cell and implements them without fail. By setting such an example, he leads all Party members in improving their organizational life.

One December day in 1993, he rang up a responsible worker of a central organ. At the time, the cadre was in the office room of the secretary of the Party cell next to his room to pay his Party dues for the month. The official who took up the receiver told him that he would fetch him at once. But, dissuading him from doing so, Kim Jong Il said that it would take ten minutes or so and waited, holding the receiver in his hand, till the cadre returned after fulfilling his obligation as a Party member.

In order to see a Party member observe the rules of Party life, he does not grudge his precious time from directing the affairs of the Party, the state and the army.

He demands that each Party member hold the correct view of the Party organization and regularize the review of his or her Party life and make this a strict rule in life. One learns from others' good points while shortcomings are overcome before they grow—this is the summing-up of Party life every member gives in the Party cell.

Man as a social being cannot improve himself if he remains the captive of subjective thinking. One should review oneself and at the same time heed public opinion and advice. Through this one cultivates and improves oneself continuously. The introduction of the new summing-up system initiated by Kim Jong Il is the way to train Party members through organizational life, a new application of the principle of self-cultivation of man on a higher plane. A member of the WPK personifies the true-hearted man, and Party life equals the process of improving oneself to perfection.



In his letter *Let Us Strengthen the Party Cell* addressed to the National Lecture Meeting of Secretaries of the Party Cells, which was convened for the first time after the foundation of the WPK on May 10, 1991, he appealed to all Party cells to become "cells of loyalty." The campaign to build cells of loyalty is an organizational campaign to cement the Party peculiar to Kim Jong Il-led Workers' Party of Korea.

In the working-class party, the cell is the lowest unit, and all party members conduct their party life, enroled in cells.

Considering that strengthening the Party cell is the first step to consolidating the whole Party, Kim Jong Il has given on-the-spot guidance to the work of many Party cells, including those in the compressor repair shop of the Hungnam Fertilizer Plant and in Komdae village, Ohyon-ni Yonan County, South Hwanghae Province. He has invigorated the basic organizations of the Party, inspiring them to become militant and realistic Party organizations. In this way, under his wise guidance, the WPK is pushing ahead with the movement to create cells of loyalty, and this quickens the paces of conversion into a cadre Party, an elite Party.

### 3) Working with People, the Fundamental of Party Work

"Working with people" and "the fundamental of Party work" —these expressions concerning Party work are unique phrases used in the WPK.

The WPK which upholds the people-centred Juche idea as its guiding idea gives priority to man in Party work and in its activities. The parties of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states have considered stress on organizational building, ignoring ideological building. This made them unable to conduct work among the people, and the education and training of party members regarding it as fundamental in party work and activities. Regarding work with people as the basic task in Party work reveals the true nature of the WPK as the mother party which cares for the destiny of the masses with full responsibility, and this is associated with the basic mission of the Party. The relations between the Party and the masses are those of leading and being led, and win-win mutually, give-and-take in one's life and protect-and-earnment in one's destiny. These relations become strongest and mightiest when the Party protects and loves the masses as

their mother.

Generalissimo Kim Il Sung laid down the new fundamental principle of Party work: that is work with the people.

Kim Jong Il established the system of work with the people throughout the Party by furthering Kim Il Sung's Party building thinking on the fundamentals of Party work, and thus paved the way for the victorious realization of the cause of transforming the entire Party after the Juche idea.

He said:

"Work among the people is, in essence, a political work and work to enhance their ideology."

Working among the people means awakening and educating them to help them take the right path. In other words, it is organizational and political work to educate the people ideologically and unite them organizationally so that they may play an active part in the revolutionary movement and the building of a new society.

The object of this work is the cadres, the Party members and the masses. The basic tasks of the professional political activists engaged in Party work are to learn what the cadres, the Party members and the masses think, and educate and unite them around the Party and inspire them to fulfil their assignments with credit by giving full play to their creative power. In short, the object of the Party worker is man. Only when the Party gives precedence to work with people is it possible to prevent Party work from being reduced to administrative and techno-practical work and to retain its feature as political organizer and enhance its militant function and role.

Proceeding from the Juche-based principle of Party work, Kim Jong Il has instituted a system by which all Party members work among the masses. Under this system, one person educates and rouses ten to action, ten people a hundred, a hundred people a thousand and a thousand people ten thousand. All officials, whether of the Party or of an administrative body, whether of an upper organ or of a lower organ, whether cadres or ordinary Party members, should engage in work with the people and unite the broad masses around the Party. Under this system all officials and Party members are the objects of work with the people and, at the same time, conduct this work. When a work system is established under which superiors educate their subordinates responsibly and cadres and Party members go among the masses and educate them, the whole Party will be turned into a party which

works among the masses, and it will strike root more firmly among them.

By upholding the slogan "Let the whole Party go among the masses," he has established the system and habit of conducting work with the people throughout the Party.

He said:

"... Officials must uphold the slogan 'Let the whole Party go among the masses!' and always go among the masses to share their joys and sorrows while educating them and rousing them to action, and, at the same time, learn from them and improve themselves."

The WPK with half a century history of growth into a mass-based political Party has always called upon the cadres to go down among the masses. However, the appeal to the whole Party to go among the masses was first raised by Kim Jong Il. His new slogan is imbued with profound thinking as seen below:

First, work with the people is very difficult, for it has to move people's minds, and the key to the solution of this matter is that one should go among the masses and share their joys and sorrows.

Working among the people is not such an easy job which ends by mixing with them once or twice. As all people look different, so every one's thinking and feelings are varied and characteristic, as is the way he or she expresses these. The work with a person should be conducted to suit his character; only then does he unbosom himself.

As the saying goes, the real test of a river is to cross it, and the real test of a man is to share life with him. And there is another saying, "sitting together will make people intimate acquaintances." If you wish to understand the masses, you must go among them and try to reach their minds, working with them to find a solution to the knotty problems in their life and work.

Secondly, going among the masses is an important means of self-cultivation and training for the leading personnel.

Working among the people, one should be sensitive, humble, rich in experience and possessed of the art of refined leadership. In order to acquire these qualifications, officials must go among the masses and learn from them. Where struggle and life exist, there the people are. The spirit of loyalty to the leader and the Party and sentiments like revolutionary romanticism and the noble relationships between people are all revealed among the masses. Therefore the cadres must go among them and share their joys

and sorrows, learn from them humbly and develop their minds; only then is it possible for them to become knowledgeable enough to teach the masses and to become well qualified to work with them in a perfect, mature way.

Thirdly, if the party is to have ties of kinship with the masses as suits its nature, the cadres must go among them. A revolutionary party in any period and under whatever circumstances must strive to strengthen its ties with the masses. However, general propaganda or declarations will not unite the masses, nor establish ties with them. This is resolved only when going among the masses becomes an inviolable principle and an everyday practice. After all, when all the cadres and members of the party always work among the masses and share life and death, the sweet and the bitter with them, the party can form an indivisible entity with the masses in body and mind. One of the major reasons for the collapse of the socialist government parties in the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European states was that the leading personnel did not mix with the masses but abused their authority and indulged in bureaucracy so that the party lost the trust and support of the masses.

Already long ago, Kim Jong Il taught that a cadre working among the masses and rendering devoted service to them was just like a person taking a tonic, but domineering and practising bureaucracy over the people was like a person taking a poisonous drug.

He instituted wise measures for the whole Party to go among the masses.

In organizing all manners of work, he first indicates the clear-cut objective and destination and, following this, shows concrete ways and means and proposes practical measures for the fulfilment of the task. This is the unique feature peculiar to the exercise of his guidance which distinguishes him from foreign party and state leaders.

In order to provide the conditions favourable for the Party officials' work among the masses, he first of all saw to it that an end was put to such practices as calling frequent meetings and bogging down lower units with paper work, and that Party committees at all levels readjusted their departments to the system of going down among the people.

Pointing out that frequent meetings and indulging in paper work are a manifestation of bureaucratism in the ruling party, he put a new work system into effect whereby fewer meetings were held and paper work was simplified as much as possible. Every month Party officials worked among the

masses for 20 days staying at lower Party organizations, and in the remaining ten days they worked in the office equipping themselves with new policies and lines and drawing up new work schedules.

Calling upon officials to work as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did, which is the traditional work method of the WPK, he used to tell them that they should follow the example of President Kim Il Sung who, in the arduous days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, went down to the companies of the guerrilla army and conducted political work there. He told them to plunge into the whirlpool of life by going down with a pack on their back just like the anti-Japanese guerrillas. The WPK is not a bureaucratic party which domineers over and orders around the masses, but one which carries out revolution depending on the strength of the masses. Party officials are not bureaucrats who rule over the masses, but the mother who leads the people, sharing the board and lodging with them. In this way he teaches the officials how to educate and lead the masses.

He guides the Party officials with great care so that they may grasp the essence of the work methods of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and imbue their work with it.

In the spring of 1975 he inspected the "Three Revolutions Exhibition" on the eve of its opening to the public. He stopped in front of the knapsacks on display. These were the knapsacks the officials of a county Party committee used when they went down to the lower units to carry out political work. They contained things such as the works of President Kim Il Sung, reminiscences of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, pamphlets to explain Party policies in a conversational way, a booklet of data for the dissemination of Juche-based farming methods, a set of water colours, a harmonica, etc.

These exhibits served to remind visitors of the sweaty faces of the Party officials who explained Party policies to workers and farmers while working side by side with them at the machines or walking across the fields in the countryside, or to conjure up the scene of young people singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the harmonica during work breaks.

After a moment's meditation he told the accompanying officials of the Party Central Committee that this was just what he had had in mind and had emphasized many times when imitating the system whereby the whole Party works with the masses. He suggested spreading the example of the officials of this county Party committee to all Party officials by giving prominence to their experiences in the Party organ and informing all Party

organs of them. At his advice *Rodong Sinmun*, the organ of the WPK, highlighted their experiences, devoting large space to them, and this brought a warm response from Party officials all over the country.

Simultaneously he, in person, directed the county Party committee, the lowest executive unit of the WPK, and the cells, its basic organizations, to follow an example of how to work with the people.

One summer day he gave on-the-spot guidance to the work of the Sakju County Party Committee in North Phyongan Province. Making a round of the Sakju Manufactured Goods Store and the Youth Grocer's Shop, he even tasted the bean paste and soy sauce sold locally. Learning that the supply of edible oil was not satisfactory, he went straight to the county Party committee and taught the officials the ways and means to ensure an ample supply of edible oil through the combined processing of maize, the staple crop of the county. He thus encouraged them in the fulfilment of this task, saying that he would assist them and regard himself as belonging to the county Party committee. A team of engineers was dispatched by him to assist in the mechanization and modernization of oil extraction from maize embryos in the county factories. He suggested that a rest home be built in the scenic hot-springs resort so that workers, farmers and office workers in the county might enjoy recreation at all seasons.

On receiving his guidance, the officials of the county Party committee went among the masses and conducted political work among them. This brought about an upswing in production and a steady improvement in the people's livelihood.

As the Party officials worked admirably among the Party members, following the example of the respected leader Kim Jong Il, the Party members, too, mixed well with the masses and looked after them with motherly care, so that all of them became more firmly united around the Party.

Today the WPK is carrying out its activities under the slogan "Let the whole Party go among the masses!" Therefore, everywhere the masses live and work, the Party body is active, and where the Party organization works, the creative energy of the masses is demonstrated to the full. To live among the masses and fight and advance at the head of them—this has become the unique style of work among the leading personnel and members of the Party.



### 3. The Indestructible Party

The WPK is a very solid Party which has attained the single-minded unity of the whole Party centred around the leader on the basis of President Kim Il Sung's revolutionary ideas which have been inherited through generations. It is the mother Party which is tied to the masses as one body and spirit, and an experienced and tempered, militant Party which leads the masses along the victorious road of independence without making the slightest error in the implementation of its policies.

The greatness of the party is derived from the greatness of the leader. If the leader is great, his party is great, too. Today the WPK demonstrates its vitality as the bastion of progressive thinking which is immune to the frenzy of any gales, and an impregnable fortress of single-minded unity. This is because the respected leader Kim Jong Il is at the head of the Party.

#### 1) The Party United behind the Leader in One Body and Spirit

Kim Jong Il announced that the WPK was the Party based on single-minded unity. He said:

"We can say with confidence that our Party has acquired the strongest, most vital unity and cohesion which no force can break and which can overcome any trials."

The source of invincibility and the great might of a party lies in how its ranks are united; apart from its unity and cohesion the party itself cannot exist or be strengthened nor can it lead the revolutionary movement and construction to victory. Therefore, the unwavering unity and cohesion of the ranks is one of the most essential criteria of the invincible party. Speaking of the unity and cohesion of the party unity in one body and in one spirit is the most solid and powerful.

Single-minded unity is unity based on one ideology and one centre, the indestructible unity, which is based on revolutionary traditions and is carried down through generations. Just as the sun is the centre for all the plan-

ets in the solar system, so every integration has its centre. The party as the political body of the community has as its pivot the leader of the party.

It was Kim Jong Il, who discovered the principle of unity for the first time; that is that a working-class party can achieve the most durable single-minded unity when it is based on the ideology of the leader and centred around the leader, and he clarified the revolutionary thinking on Party building, "Let us unite, centring around the leader!"

The WPK, which has completed the building of its organizational and ideological foundation, takes pride in the fact that the whole Party has become invincible ranks united in one ideology and purpose, with a sense of morality and fidelity, centring around Kim Jong Il who creditably carries forward the cause of Juche. Particular emphasis is put on the fact that the whole Party is filled with infinite adoration and reverence for and absolute worship of Kim Jong Il.

The unity and cohesion of the party reveal in essence how firmly its leader and members are tied to each other. What has brought the party ranks into an integrated whole is their warm hearts of deference to the leader, the pivot of unity. If we do not feel attracted to the leader just as the earth moves around the sun, and if the feeling of reverence does not well up in our hearts, it is impossible to achieve ideological unity and the organizational integrity of the party. Such a feeling towards the leader is something far above respect, it is worship. The absolute worship shown by all the members of the WPK towards Kim Jong Il helps to forge unbreakable ties of kinship between leader and members and integrate both in body and mind.

Today the members of the WPK have committed their fate and future to Kim Jong Il and conducted Party life in response to his thought and intentions, singing the song *Led by You, We Will Win* which the veteran Party member Ri In Mo dedicated to the leader Kim Jong Il. This song includes the following words which reflect the firm view of the leader cherished by members of the WPK, who do not waver no matter what the adversity.

*General Kim Jong Il has steered the large single-minded army  
And armed it with a valuable sword.  
If you lead us we don't fear the enemy  
If you lead us we'll win.*

The Party members are firmly convinced that since Kim Jong Il leads

them the WPK and Juche-oriented socialism can demonstrate their vitality, and they cherish their noble revolutionary conscience with which they defy death and remain loyal to their leader. Therefore when north Korea went on a state of quasi war in March 1993, millions of Party members arose like mountains and raging flames demonstrating their resolve to become the guns and shells defending their Party.

In October 1990 the members of the 2nd Party cell of the fifth department of the Korean Central News Agency addressed a letter to Kim Jong Il, pledging their loyalty to him. The letter proved that their trust in, reverence for and worship of him and the single-minded unity of the leader and the members of the WPK are a rare thing which finds no match in any other party in the world. When the intellectuals of the East European socialist states were rushing headlong towards counterrevolution and betrayal at the head of the anti socialist movement, the intellectual members of the WPK were disgusted with them and were the first to swear allegiance to their leader Kim Jong Il, saying "Let cowards flinch, we'll defend the socialist banner." They pledged their life that they would repay with unwavering loyalty the Party's benevolence and the great trust reposed in them by the Party which has engraved the writing brush side by side with the hammer and sickle on the emblem of the WPK and defined the intellectuals as one of the components of the revolutionary working-class party.

After reading their letter he wrote in vigorous strokes

Dear Party members of the 2nd cell,

I have received your letter.

I express my thanks to you for your devoted service.

Encouraged by your letter, I confirm my pledge to be unfailingly loyal to the Party and to the revolutionary cause, and to work with redoubled efforts to prove worthy of your trust.

I extend cordially greetings to you.

Kim Jong Il

November 1, 1990

When the Party was in difficulties, the intellectual members of the Party supported their Party and leader with a high sense of loyalty, while the leader trusts and guides them as the "eternal companion, the faithful helper

and the good adviser". This graphically shows what the single-minded unity of the Workers' Party is like.

The letters expressing people's loyalty and their resolve to entrust their fate entirely to him, follow him to the end of the world and defend the monolithic unity of the Party like the apple of their eye, and his signed letters of reply are in endless reciprocation between him and all Party members, between him and the entire people and between him and all the army men. In the WPK, millions of Party members and hundreds of thousands of Party organizations guard the leader of the Party and attend him with single-minded loyalty, assuming the role of citadel and shield. Since the Party, the heart of society, has been united single-mindedly, the unity of the whole of society, the integration of the leader, the Party and the masses, is also indestructible like an impregnable fortress.

The close unity of the WPK manifests itself in the strict organization and discipline by which the whole Party acts with one accord in line with the ideology and will of the leader.

Revolutionary organization and discipline are the life of the party and an important denominator showing the intensity of its unity. Only a party united in one body and one spirit can move with one accord to put into practice the ideology and intentions of its leader and organize and enlist all its members to strive towards the one objective. The might of a party is at once its vital force of organization and its discipline.

The organization and discipline of the WPK are founded on the high sense of loyalty and conscientiousness cherished by its members for their Party and leader. Because every member of the Party worships his leader absolutely, he accepts and supports the leader's will unconditionally and translates it into reality by all means. The stories about the Party Members Shock Brigade which distinguished itself in building a large number of monumental structures, such as the Tower of the Juche Idea, the Arch of Triumph, the Kim Il Sung Stadium, the Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery and the May Day Stadium in Pyongyang are good proof of this.

To celebrate the 70th birthday of President Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Il proposed building the Tower of the Juche Idea and the Arch of Triumph in Pyongyang, the city which is associated with his immortal exploits. However, it was too much for them to build these unique and monumental edifices in such a short period of time. The most serious problem here lay in the work force.

At the time, the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital, the Changgwang Health

Complex and many other buildings were under construction. Under such circumstances strain was keenly felt in the supply of work force, and to form a construction team of experienced technicians and skilled workers was one of the knotty problems.

He stated that the monumental structures which would immortalize the great leader's exploits should be built on the strength of the loyalty of all the Party members and proposed the formation of a Loyal Party Members Shock-Brigade. This was exciting news to Party members. Large numbers of Party members everywhere—from the mine workers in the northern district and the farmers in the villages near the Military Demarcation Line to office employees working in the central organs—swarmed to their Party organizations and applied for admission to the glorious ranks. Their number ran into one million and several hundreds of thousands. The Party-Members Shock Brigade was thus born and ensured the successful construction of the world-class monumental tower and the arch of triumph in the brief span of a year and seven months.

As seen above, the WPK is firm with its monolithic leadership system by Kim Jong Il, and all Party work and activity is carried out in line with his ideology and intentions. Entire organizations and members of the Party undertake all work in line with Party policy and go through thick and thin to carry its decisions and directions through to the end, what the leader has resolved to do immediately becomes the determination of the Party members; and all Party members speak in the same breath and walk in the same manner—this is the organization and the discipline of the WPK grounded on a monolithic idea and leadership, and this is its proud appearance.

## 2) Mother Party Serves the Masses

The north Korean people today call the WPK the mother Party, to express their trust in and respect for it.

Whether or not a revolutionary party becomes the mother party rendering selfless service to the masses is a question of fundamental importance concerning the future of the party and revolution.

The masses constitute the base of a working-class party. A party divorced from the people, a party which lacks popular support, is like a castle in the air. Just as the power of the masses is inexhaustible, so a party

united with the masses as one flesh is ever-victorious. Today the WPK has not only achieved the oneness of its ranks, but has also struck root deep among the people and enjoys their absolute support.

The term "mother party" means that the party has become a genuine party for the people which is responsible for the destiny of the masses and which leads them. This is Kim Jong Il's conception of the party.

"It is our Party's unique principle for activity that the Party should be as a mother responsible for the destiny of the people."

The term "mother" implies affection and sacrifice. Silent devotion to her children without the slightest regard for reward, this is the true image of a mother, and this is what makes life worthwhile and happy for her. The party, like a mother, cherishes the spirit of selfless devotion to the people and provides and protects political integrity and an ample and civilized livelihood for the people. Only such a party deserves the name mother party in the true sense of the word. Although various political parties have come and gone during the hundreds of years since their appearance in the world, it is only the WPK which passes by the name of mother among the people.

Kim Jong Il has gone all out to build the WPK into a party which the masses love whole-heartedly as their mother and which all the people believe in and are attached to as they are to their mother.

His mass-based theory on building and strengthening the party into a mother party starts from the point that the party centred around the leader is the mother of the sociopolitical organism.

The principle of the Juche idea concerning the subject of the revolution asserts that in socialist society the leader, the party and the masses are welded into a single sociopolitical organism and share same destiny; the leader is the centre which has unified command of its activities; the party plays the role of pivot uniting the masses with the leader. Owing to the pivotal functions and role of the party, the masses come to be tied in kinship with the leader and acquire their immortal sociopolitical integrity. The leader and the party provide sociopolitical integrity to each one of the masses. In other words, just as parents are the givers of physical life, so the party and the leader are the givers of sociopolitical integrity. This is why the people in north Korea call their leader the father leader and the Party the mother party.

Proceeding from this, Kim Jong Il laid down that responsibly taking charge of the destiny of the masses and leading them forward is the basic mission of the Party, and devoted service to the people is the principle for



activity typical of the WPK.

That is why the party gives the masses political integrity, the party takes care of the destiny of the masses, while the latter consign their destiny to the former.

Firstly, when the party works out its lines and policies to satisfy the desires and demands of the broad masses, and carries them out in the interests of the masses, it can become the mother party devotedly serving the people. Adhering to such a standpoint, Kim Jong Il attaches particular importance to this question in Party work and activities.

Talking to Party officials in January 1990, he declared that although the communist and workers' parties of many former socialist states gave up revolution and betrayed the masses, the WPK would never turn against the masses, and even if the sky fell it would be responsible for the destiny of the masses to the end.

"We serve the people" must become the motto of our Party officials", he emphasized.

"We serve the people" this is the sacred watchword he put before the WPK and the cadres and, at the same time, his unshakable creed. From the first days of his guidance he had Party activities as a whole oriented to firmly protecting the interests of the masses and serving them faithfully. When he adopts a decision, not to mention the line and policies of the Party, he directs primary concern to the desires and interests of the masses, and in building a factory or a town he ensures that the people's needs and convenience are the first things to be taken into consideration.

Every popular policy enforced by the WPK today is permeated with the noble intentions and warm affection of the respected leader Kim Jong Il who dedicates his all for the well-being of the people. This induces the masses to support and trust the Party and firmly ties the Party to the people with bonds of kinship.

Since they know very well that the WPK gives top priority to the welfare of the masses in its policies, the people carry out the Party policies unconditionally under the slogan of loyalty. "When the Party is determined, we can do anything."

Secondly, Kim Jong Il exerts great efforts to building the mother party which takes full responsibility for and cares for the sociopolitical life and material, and cultural life of the masses. The most important thing for social man is his political life and political integrity.

With the feelings of a mother concerned with the life of her children, Kim Jong Il values the sociopolitical life of the Party members and of the working masses and helps them with great kindness to maintain their political integrity without making any mistakes.

He trusts and embraces with affection the people of different strata regarding them as his revolutionary comrades and trains them to be proud revolutionaries.

The appearance of the WPK as the mother party which is responsible for the destiny of the masses is also eloquent in that it does its utmost to provide them with ample and civilized living conditions.

Today the superiority of Juche-oriented socialism is given full play under the guidance of the WPK. As a result, the people in north Korea enjoy a happy, stable life, free from taxation, having no worries about food, clothing and housing, in addition to medical care and education.

Thirdly, in order to bond the mother party, Kim Jong Il directs great attention to training Party officials to be the servants of the masses.

The veteran Party officials who commenced their Party work under the guidance of President Kim Il Sung have a strong sense of respect for the people and of dutiful service to them, but some young Party officials leave something to be desired. They grew up happily in the cradle of socialism, built by the sweat and blood of the preceding generations, and are short of experience in Party work. So they have not grasped the truth in practice that it is the Party's lifeline to strike deep root among the masses. To train party officials of the younger generation to be the faithful servants of the masses is a pressing task confronting the government parties of all countries. A wise solution to this has been found only by WPK.

With a view to getting all Party officials to embody worship of the people in their activities, Kim Jong Il raised these requirements in dealing with all questions, big and small.

Countless are the tales of the popular character and modesty of Kim Jong Il who thinks about the people above all and is faithful to them.

### 3) Well-Seasoned, Tempered and Promising Party

Kim Jong Il conducts all work in a mature and skilled manner, and vigorously pushes ahead with the work with great enthusiasm and youthful

ardour. So as a reflection of his virtues the people call the WPK the most experienced, refined and promising party in the international revolutionary movement.

The WPK is highly acclaimed by the world's public as one which has accumulated rich experience and become well-seasoned, tempered and mature amidst grim, protracted struggles. It originated in the "Down-with-Imperialism Union" (DIU) organized by Kim Il Sung in 1926. Although it announced its founding after the August 15 Liberation, the WPK is 70 years old when we date it back to its historical roots. Not a few political parties in the world political arena boast of a history surpassing one hundred years. However, how wise and mature it is and how refined is not determined by the length of its history. What is more important here is to perceive its history from the philosophical point of view.

From such an angle, one should have a correct understanding of the fact that the WPK has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions which took shape amidst the flames of the epic anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and, particularly, that it has been guided by outstanding leaders and great ideas.

When we review the modern history of revolutionary movements, we see that the WPK has no match in that it has traversed the path of revolution full of ordeals. By leading through to victory the trying yet brilliant struggles for the sovereignty and independence and the reunification of Korea, and for the realization of the cause of independence for the masses — the arduous national liberation war against the most heinous Japanese imperialism, the struggle to build a democratic state in the complicated situation following liberation, the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War against the US imperialist aggressor forces which boasted of being the "mightiest" in the world, the postwar rehabilitation and construction on the ruins, the socialist revolution and construction — it has built Korea into a socialist power, independent, self-sustaining and self-defending.

Its history of incomparably fierce and unprecedentedly difficult struggles has added the features of maturity and perfection to the performance of its leadership.

Kim Jong Il emphasizes that the WPK is a party incomparably strong with revolutionary faith and principles.

When we say that a party is mature and refined, this is not a mere technical conception, it reveals itself as firm faith and strong will based on steady revolutionary principles.

The WPK is a steel-like party possessed of indefatigable conviction, the strong willpower with which it continues the revolution even though the world changes a hundred times, and of indomitable spirit and principledness unaffected by world trends.

Kim Jong Il has led the cause of Juche at the helm of WPK when every arena of revolution and construction was facing weighty tasks owing to extreme adversities and a complex situation at home and abroad.

From 1974, the WPK launched the cause of transforming the whole Party and society according to the Juche idea, and the grand movement to build socialism so as to expedite the complete victory of socialism. These were the revolutionary tasks that had to be carried out in depth. In addition, these difficult tasks were being carried out amidst the ceaseless struggle to smash the counterrevolutionary machinations of the US imperialists and their stooges.

Recently, under the circumstances when such world-shaking changes as the collapse of socialism took place in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states, dubbed an earthquake by the world's public, the allied forces of imperialism launched in waves a knavish military threat, political pressure and economic blockade in three dimensions, under the excuse of "nuclear suspicion", with an eye to strangling north Korea, the stronghold of socialism. At this crucial moment, when the question was whether they should rise in defence of the country's independence and the security of the nation or bend the knee, the great General Kim Jong Il ordered the whole country, the whole people and the entire army onto a semi-war footing, in accordance with his firm resolution, "We'd rather die than compromise!" Such a world-shaking super-heroic stand of the north well illustrates the might, the authority and strong stamina of the WPK led by its leader Kim Jong Il.

Without prejudice we can say that the spirit of independence of the WPK which declared a frontal counterattack against the tremendous pressure of the material superiority of the US, which styled itself the single superpower after the Gulf War, should be recorded as another world-shaking "event" that is in contrast to the East European situation.

The might of the WPK was fully demonstrated by the fact that it has emerged victorious from the confrontation. At present, the world's public envies the might and dignity of Japan which boasts of being an economic power, but these are far inferior as compared to the national pride and

Juche-based national character of the Korean people guided by Kim Jong Il and the WPK.

Now, the WPK is publicly recognized as a most powerful party which makes neither compromise nor concession on points concerning revolutionary principle.

Previously, when the moves to dominate others were on the rampage with the rise of modern revisionism within the international movement, particularly within the government party of a big country, the WPK stubbornly rejected their ideological and political pressures and pursued the Juche-oriented line of revolution and rebuffed economic pressure in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. Even after the emergence of modern social democracy it did not withdraw a bit from its revolutionary stand. Although the adverse wind of anti-socialism is raging across the world, the WPK invariably holds fast to the basic principles of socialism. Such a powerful party is nowhere to be seen in the annals of the international revolutionary movement.

The WPK defies worsening ordeals and adversities, and ensures the revolution and construction surge forward continually, converting adversity into a propitious situation in response to the wise and seasoned guidance of Kim Jong Il. Indeed, since it is guided by the distinguished leader, the WPK has been able to become an almighty experienced and refined party weathering all difficulties.

This is why the world's public hails the WPK as the party which is the most authoritative and dignified in the international revolutionary movement, the party which has attained the most durable unity and cohesion, allowing no factions within itself, and as the vanguard which leads the movement for the realization of independence in the world.

The real value of the WPK proved itself at the time of succession to the leadership.

As seen throughout the history of the international revolutionary movement, class enemies and plotters and opportunists mad for power have openly manoeuvred and caused political upheavals. When the succession to the party's leadership was the order of the day. However, the WPK led by Kim Jong Il is free from such distress and twists and turns.

It is universally accepted that a certain political vacuum and the resultant unrest are unavoidable after the passing away of a preeminent leader. However, after the decease of President Kim Il Sung, the entire membership of the

WPK and the people of the north swore a solemn oath to support and follow Kim Jong Il and carry the cause of Juche through to the end, so being faithful to the last injunctions of the President. Transforming sorrow into courage, they are registering a fresh upsurge in production and creativity. Watching such developments, the world once again marvels at the skilled guidance of Kim Jong Il. Commenting on this, CNN television of the US said:

"All the activity and attitude of Mr. Kim Jong Il during the period of mourning set in connection with the death of President Kim Il Sung showed well the features of a seasoned leader, unlike the past speculation about him in the West. The ceremony of bidding farewell to the deceased and the national memorial meeting held for him were mourning rallies of the north Korean people over the death of President Kim Il Sung and, at the same time, served as occasions for them to show their loyalty to Mr. Kim Jong Il, the successor to his great cause."

The maturity and rich experience of the WPK are fully shown by the fact that it has made no mistakes. The WPK has succeeded without failures once it worked out its policy and line and got down to executing them. Over the past twenty years the WPK has laid down strategic lines and taken tactical measures which have surpassed the imagination, and has implemented them successfully. For instance, the programme for modelling the whole Party and the whole of society on the Juche idea, the line of building the cadre army, the line of intellectualizing the whole of society, the line of bringing about a revolution in literature and art—these were all original policies unheard-of in other parties. The political maturity and tactical ability of the WPK unblemished by mistakes or failures are attributable to the uncommon prescience and rare art of leadership of Kim Jong Il, its leader. He ponders over everything carefully and disposes of it skilfully; overflowing with youthful ardour and enthusiasm, he conducts everything boldly at lightning speed, displaying inexhaustible energy. Such features of his guidance give the WPK virile and vigorous militant power.

When it takes on the features of the respected leader Kim Jong Il, the WPK will be ever victorious and enjoy unrivalled authority and might and grow to become the vanguard force of the working class and core contingent of the popular masses which advances vigorously, without knowing scarcity or stagnation.

Thus his energetic guidance has strengthened the WPK to make it a



mature and well-seasoned party a courageous and militant party and a promising party which is ever youthful in its advance to the future.

The WPK which holds Kim Jong Il in high esteem will be ever victorious no matter how the world changes or what difficulties crop up in its way.

## IV. Popular Statesman

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## 1. Kim Jong Il's Political Philosophy

### 1) People-Centred Political Philosophy

The history of mankind, particularly its modern history, is basically woven with political events because the people's life is unthinkable apart from politics, and social life is precisely political life.

Without the medium of politics no community life is imaginable nor could society exist and develop either. In this context, Aristotle was correct when he remarked, "Man is a political animal."

But the essence of politics still remained to be clarified.

For the first time in history, Kim Jong Il, a genius in ideology and theory and a great master of politics, has elucidated this question scientifically. He said it seemed to be correct either from a theoretical or from practical viewpoint to define the essence of politics as a social function for unified command and control of all members of society.

Historically few disciplines have such a wide variety of theories as political science. Quite a few political scientists and statesmen are renowned for their interpretation of politics.

Reviewing the world history of politics, we can see that the rulers of the ancient world and of the Middle Ages depended on political thinking that justified slave ownership and despotism.

Bourgeois ideology of modern times which appeared on the eve of the capitalist revolution was relatively progressive from the viewpoint of historical development. It aimed, however, to defend the capitalist system, the new oppressive system that supplanted feudalism.

The political thinking of the ruling forces in previous ages was without exception aimed at reigning over the masses, none represented the desires of the oppressed.

The rulers of the exploiter society considered the people as objects for their control, not as the subject of society and history. So they regarded politics as being required to reign over the people and control the country. For them "politics" connoted rule over the masses and, accordingly, the term

"politics" was long used as a term meaning oppression, and the masses became disillusioned with it.

The appearance of Marxism-Leninism as a political ideology shed revealing light on the class nature of the earlier ideologies which explained politics as the ways and means to control the masses.

However, Marxism-Leninism was political thinking based on the principle of materialism and a political ideal which reflected the demands of the age when the workers of the European capitalist states were preparing to seize power and succeeded in this. It was not an age when the labouring masses became the masters of their destiny and their own history. Accordingly, this political idea dealt with political issues basically in an economic context, instead of placing man at the centre and primarily in the interests of the workers, not in the common interests of society, that is, for the realization of the independence of the broad masses. Owing to such theoretical and historical limitations, Marxism-Leninism failed to elucidate the essence of politics accurately.

Marx set store by politics, but perceived it as a branch of economics, so he did not study politics as an independent branch. This is why he gave no clear definition of the essence of politics. Leninism was adapted to Marxist methodology, which grasped the quintessence of politics in conjunction with the economy. After the October Revolution, Lenin made his thinking known regarding politics on many occasions; he thought that politics represented the relations and struggle between classes. His definition revealed the class character of politics in class society but fell short of disclosing what the politics was. He likened politics to something similar to higher mathematics, describing it as a science and technique. This emphasizes the scientific nature of politics pursued by the working-class party but it is difficult to regard this as the discovery of its essence.

The Juche idea, basing itself on the new philosophical conception that man is a social being possessed of independence, creativity and consciousness, gave the scientific elucidation that politics is a social function of uniform control of all members of society, that it is a function of unitary organization and command of people's activities in accordance with class interests and the interests of society.

Here the unified control of man's activity to suit class interests or the common interests of society means controlling man's independence and creativity. To give more detailed account of this, the pursuance of common

interests means control of man's independence, and coordinating people's activity means controlling their creativity. In other words, in order to control man's independence, the demand for independence of the social being should be converted into the common desires and interests of society; in order to control man's creativity the creative activities of social beings must be coordinated to form the joint activity of society. Only then can the communal life and joint activity of society be ensured and the independence and creativity of the people be realized. In a nutshell the control of the independence and creativity of all social beings is politics precisely. This is the scientific original view of Kim Jong Il who elucidated the essential nature of politics based on the Juche-based view of man.

In this way genuine mass-based thinking as regards politics is seen to be perfect, due to the creation of the Juche idea, the guiding ideal of the age of independence, by President Kim Il Sung, and its systematization and evolution by Kim Jong Il.

The appearance of this mass-based thinking on politics based on the principles of the Juche idea opened a new chapter of history in politics for the masses.

The fundamental change, effected by the Juche-based thinking on politics in the politico-ideological progress of mankind, lies first in that it has overcome the established views and definitions of politics as "reigning" over people or as the "relations and struggles between classes", and it has grasped politics in conjunction with independence, creativity and consciousness, man's essential features.

Thus Kim Jong Il has contradicted the established opinions that politics lasts as long as classes and the state exist, saying: "It is true that politics has a class character in class society, but there is no ground to assert that it exists only in class society. Politics is the product of society and is derived from society."

The Juche-based thinking on politics reflects the essential features of man and shows that politics is necessary for the communal life of the people, for social beings and that even when classes are abolished and the state withers away, politics, the offspring of society, remains as long as society, the community of people, exists. Thus he has established a new, popular conception of politics.

Secondly, he defined the realization of people's independence as the task of politics.

The progressive nature of political ideology is determined by how greatly it adds to carving out the destiny of the masses. Although a great variety of thoughts on politics have come and gone throughout history, none has ever set it as the objective of politics to hew out the destiny of the masses and realize their independence. Rulers used to put forward high-coloured political programmes, but, in contrast with their catchwords, they trampled on the independence of the working masses and curbed their creativity, having them shackled by the chains of oppression.

Thirdly, he presented people from all strata as the subject and masters of politics, so breaking down narrow class limitations.

Notionally the masses differ from the class or nation. The correct scientific conception of the masses was given by Kim Jong Il for the first time in our epoch when the masses have advanced as the masters of history.

"The masses of the people means a united social community which centres on working people, due to their common demand for independence and creative activity."

The popular masses are the subject of history. In capitalist society the popular masses are the workers, farmers, working intellectuals and people of different classes and social strata fighting to defend their independence. In socialist society they include the people of all classes and social strata who have become socialist working people.

The term "popular masses" reflects socio-class relations, but it is not a pure class conception. Generally the masses consist of different classes and social strata.

The basic point that decides whether or not one belongs to the masses of the people does not rest on one's socio-class origin but on one's ideology. Socialism and communism are not the unique ideological basis that integrates people from all walks of life into the framework of the masses. Any one who loves the country, the people and the nation can serve the people and become a member of the great family of the masses. This is Kim Jong Il's conception of the people.

The subject of politics is not some "specified politicians" or a few "elite members" of society but the large army of the masses. Because every political movement arises from the desire for independence of the masses, the community of people who love the country, the people and the nation and its motive force is also the creative power of the masses. One should not miss the point here, however, that the masses can



become the independent subject of politics only when they are guided by the party and the leader.

Although the popular masses are the subject of history and of politics, they do not spontaneously become the independent subject capable of hewing out their own destiny. Only when they are integrated into a sociopolitical organism centred around the leader under the guidance of the party can they first become the independent subject of politics and successfully carve out their own destiny.

Fourthly, the theory of the priority of politics has been developed in Kim Jong Il's exposition of the decisive importance of politics in social life and in social progress.

He always emphasizes that as regards political, economic and cultural life, the mode of existence of the people, political life is of primary significance. He said:

"Politics is of decisive significance in social life."

Politics, the economy and culture are the three principal fields of social life, the three main aspects of struggle for independence and the three factors for social progress. The proposition on the decisive importance of politics bears the grim truth tested in human history in which the fate of society is subject to politics. Man can become the master of society when he is made the master of politics; and on the condition that the masses of the people first secure their political independence they can realize their own full-fledged independence.

Kim Jong Il's assertion on the priority of politics offers a new scientific exposition that what is decisive in social progress is man and what he thinks; and consequently it is politics. In other words he explained that in social progress the subjective factor plays a decisive role as compared with the objective factor, the mental factor as against the material factor, and the political factor in contrast to the economic factor.

Marxism which previously bore the torch of scientific materialism amidst the darkness of idealism gave priority to the economy, proceeding from the materialistic outlook on history, that is, the economic basis and political superstructure. Lenin shared Marx's doctrine that politics is controlled by the economy. Although Lenin advanced the proposition that politics is the concentrated expression of the economy and holds priority over the latter, he was of the opinion that economic interests form the root cause and ultimate end of all matters.

Kim Jong Il broke with the set theories on the essential features and position of politics and clarified the confused understanding of it. Thus he erected a splendid guidepost which gives accurate, scientific orientation for the progress of human thinking on politics which took shape over the past 2,500 years ranging from Plato and Aristotle to Marx and Lenin. And the theoretical and practical significance of the Juche-based exposition of politics lies in that it marks the first step into the flower garden of Kim Jong Il's politics.

Kim Jong Il, who embodies Juche-oriented thinking on politics on the highest plane, has followed the man-centred doctrine as his creed in the execution of policies, saying, "I always uphold the people-centred doctrine. Only one who loves man can exercise genuine government."

If a political leader wishes to exercise genuine politics he should be guided by correct political philosophy, and this presupposes the correct exposition of and abidance by fundamental questions of political philosophy. The philosophical polemics which lasted thousands of years concerning the relations between matter and idea were brought to end by the appearance of Marxism-Leninism, and the fundamental questions of philosophy saw complete elucidation in the Juche idea, such as the question regarding the position and role of man in the world. Like this, the fundamental problems of political philosophy, too, were resolved for the first time by the Juche idea, the people-centred outlook on the world. In other words, the fundamental questions of political philosophy, too, must be examined with man at the centre and in context with his destiny.

Kim Jong Il's people-first doctrine emphasizes that one should view and conduct the revolution and construction by placing man, people, at the centre, and indicates the criterion of value in the working out of policies. In short, this proves that the basic questions of Kim Jong Il's political philosophy lie in his people-centred doctrine. Carrying out policies to serve the people is the political creed and motto of Kim Jong Il, who personifies love for the people.

President Kim Il Sung's ideal "belief in the people as in heaven", with which he started the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, became the creed in life and political belief of Kim Jong Il, the successor to the cause of Juche. So he says that none on earth is mightier than the united strength of the masses or excels the wisdom of the masses, he respects them as the

teacher; his thinking and activity always proceed from the aspirations and demands of the masses and throughout his life he has found the greatest pleasure in selfless service to the people.

Believing that one is ever-victorious when one trusts and depends on the masses of the people, he always draws strength and wisdom from them and presents and extols them on to the highest degree.

From this comes his belief that the Party, the state and the army should be faithful to the masses. Amidst his great affection, the politics of benevolence, the all-embracing politics — the politics of his love and trust are being put into force. This has resulted in the close unity of the leader, the Party and the people, and has given birth to the Juche-oriented large family whose members help each other and lead each other forward. The people of north Korea revere him as they would heaven, because he administers to the people guided by his political philosophy of love and trust on the basis of his people-centred doctrine.

To respect the masses of the people regarding them as the mightiest and wisest beings, to resolve everything depending on their strength and to serve them with devotion, this is the philosophy of love for the people, the great principle and political ideal of Kim Jong Il, the son of the masses.

Together with the politics of benevolence, independence in politics proceeds from the Juche-oriented political philosophy of the respected leader Kim Jong Il.

He said

"Without independence in politics it would be impossible to talk about independence at all. . .

"Maintaining independence in politics means upholding national independence and sovereignty of one's people, defending their interests and conducting politics by relying on them."

Since politics is of decisive importance in social life, the Juche in ideology finds expression, above all, in independence in politics; self-sufficiency in the economy and self-reliance in national defence, too, are secured by independence in politics. It is possible to defend independence in politics when one defends national independence and the sovereignty of one's people, protects their interests and conducts politics by relying on their strength. Political independence is the first criterion and the life and soul of an independent sovereign state. The revolutionary movement is above all the struggle for political sovereignty. All questions arising in the

revolution and construction rest on politics, and the destiny of the revolutionary cause is eventually decided by political independence. This is his view.

He has indicated the four principles indispensable for guaranteeing independence in politics.

First, it is to set up a people's government.

Man's right to independence is concentratedly expressed in state power. So the masses, if they are to realize independence completely, must become the masters of state power.

Secondly, it is necessary to build a strong internal political force.

The revolutionary forces consist of political, economic and military forces, the main one being the political force. What is important in the Juche-oriented political force is to strengthen the party, the guiding force, and realize the unity and cohesion of the people centred around the party.

Thirdly, one must have one's own guiding thought, work out one's policy by oneself in accordance with one's decisions and carry it through.

The main thing in politics is to formulate policies and implement them. Yielding to foreign pressure and tolerating foreign intervention in politics or acting at the instigation of others would lead the revolution and construction to failure.

Fourthly, it is important to exercise complete sovereignty and equality in relations with foreign countries.

Independence of the country is expressed, after all, in foreign relations. Sovereignty is an inviolable right of all countries and nations. There are big and small countries and economically developed and underdeveloped nations in the world, but there are no countries higher and lower, no superior and inferior races, all countries and nations are equal and independent.

Having illustrated the basic lines one should abide by in pursuance of independent politics, Kim Jong Il has given a brilliant exposition of them in the performance of the internal and external policies of Juche Korea.

## 2 Political Philosophy Characterized by Ideology and Revolutionary Outlook on the Leader

It can be said that Kim Jong Il's political philosophy based on people-centred philosophical principles is a blend of ideology and matter, the cen-

tre of which is thought and the Juche-based outlook on the revolution, to be more precise, on the revolutionary outlook on the leader.

That this political philosophy has integrated ideology and matter is intended to accentuate the point that this is a political idea based on the materialistic idea-first doctrine. Considering that man, the sole being with ideological consciousness, holds the position of master and plays a decisive role in the world, this political philosophy raises as the basic objective of politics to give priority to the masses in the solution of every political phenomenon and steadily to improve their position and role.

This is the political philosophy which gives priority to thought, the philosophy based on the idea-first doctrine that it is ideological consciousness that decides everything.

The Juche-based idea-first doctrine is the philosophy of confidence that the leader Kim Jong Il alone could initiate and put it into political practice, for he is endowed with rare intelligence and knowledge and strong willpower.

When the political leaders of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states became captivated by the economy first doctrine, failed to see the decisive role of ideological consciousness and were degenerating, he held that ideology was the lifeline for the building of socialism and announced the idea-first doctrine as the political philosophy of the WPK.

It is a widely accepted truth that ideological consciousness is the basic factor that decides the role of the masses in political movements. Whether or not the people actively and voluntarily take part in the struggle to realize the independence of the masses rests on whether they have consciousness of independence or not. The degree of willpower and fighting capacity demonstrated by the people in the political movement are determined by their ideological consciousness. Since the political movement is the struggle waged by awakened people, an important demand is to give priority to the ideology of the people.

Abiding by such a people-centred philosophy enables one to demolish mountains and fill up the seas, under the uplifted banner of the idea-first doctrine it is possible to hew out the destiny of the masses unerringly and bring the cause of independence to victory - this is the unshakable belief of Kim Jong Il, the author of the idea-first doctrine.

Therefore, he gives precedence to the ideological revolution in carrying

out the three revolutions, ideological, technical, and cultural; he attaches primary importance to the transformation of man in the endeavours to reshape nature, society and man and, accordingly, what comes first in the transformation of man is to reform the thinking that decides his value. Proceeding from this, party work by nature should be ideological and political guidance. With a view to accomplishing the Juche cause by way of idea-first doctrine, regarding it as a political weapon, he has seen to it that education in loyalty, education in revolutionary traditions, education in socialist patriotism, and other forms of ideological education are conducted in depth.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il, a genius in politics, starts from the idea-first doctrine in analysing the factors which led to the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the Eastern European socialist states.

Kim Jong Il's doctrine on politics holds that socialist ideology, socialist power and the socialist system are closely interrelated, and what is fundamental here is the people having socialist thinking. The socialist system cannot exist apart from the socialist government, and the latter cannot be maintained without the people armed with socialist ideology. In the long run, what is decisive to the progress and destiny of socialist society is the people equipped with socialist thinking. Nevertheless, the political leaders of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states neglected or ignored the essential question of strengthening the subject of the revolution by enhancing the ideological consciousness of the masses.

Considering this, we should say that Kim Jong Il's proposition is a warning to revolutionary fighters, that is, the greatest love for the masses is to infuse them with the idea of independence and awaken them ideologically, the biggest crime against them is to paralyze their consciousness of independence and let them degenerate ideologically. As a matter of fact, the greatest misfortune for the masses is the poverty of ideas, rather than that of material things.

The greatness of the masses of a given country depends, above all, on how great the guiding ideal is.

The people of north Korea are acclaimed a great people since they cherish the immortal Juche idea as the guiding idea. They press forward vigorously, not fearing any oppression or menace from the imperialists. The conversion of Juche Korea into the power of ideology, and the power of politics, and the birth of a great people who are steadfast in ideology and poli-



tics are the epochal exploits of Kim Jong Il, the founder of the people-centred political philosophy and an unexcelled statesman.

The Juche-based outlook on the revolution means the viewpoint and stand of one conducting revolution with the masses at the centre, and the revolutionary spirit with which one wages a resolute struggle for the interests of the masses.

Concretely speaking, this outlook on the revolution asserts that realizing the independence of the masses is the essence of the revolution, and that the masses constitute its subject, and their political force is its motive force.

In consideration of the fact that the nucleus of the Juche-based outlook on the revolution is the revolutionary outlook on the leader, the revolutionary cause of the masses is pioneered by the leader and advanced and led to victory under the guidance of the party and the leader.

Always from the leader-centred viewpoint, he gets to the essence of all political phenomena, orientates the political movement and works out political methods. All his political thinking and activities emanate from and are brought to a conclusion with the outlook on the leader.

In short, Kim Jong Il's political philosophy is based on the revolutionary outlook on the leader. The leader-first doctrine is his steadfast faith, will and political belief.

No flower garden can exist without the sun's rays. In the same way the cause of independence of the people cannot become victorious without an outstanding leader's guidance.

The masses, the subject of history, must get to know that the leader is the brain of the revolutionary movement, the centre of unity and the symbol of victory. Only then is it possible for them to unite behind the leader as one, based on his deep trust in the people and people's firm confidence in him, and only then will the cause of independence be victorious. So he proclaimed the close unity of the leader and the masses as one of the important principles of his political philosophy.

The ideological unity and cohesion of the revolutionary ranks will come about when they have the ideological banner and the focal point. The ideological groundwork for unity in the revolutionary ranks and the cohesion of the people is the revolutionary thinking of the leader, and its focal point is the leader.

The single-minded unity of the leader, the Party and the masses is the essential requirement and goal of Kim Jong Il's political philosophy. So,

proceeding from the Juche-based outlook on the leader, he builds the Party, the army and the country into a vanguard unit, an armed force and a community of people loyal to the leader.

Kim Jong Il's political philosophy is based on his faith to accomplish the cause of Juche initiated by President Kim Il Sung.

His noble belief and determination have become even greater since President Kim Il Sung passed away regrettably, before seeing the country's reunification and the realization of the cause of Juche for which he exerted the greatest energy and efforts to the last moment of his life.

Thanking the entire population of north Korea for having deeply mourned the death of President Kim Il Sung, he said:

"Our Party will uphold the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung as the only guiding principle. We will resolutely defend the revolutionary traditions of Juche established by our leader and his immortal revolutionary achievements, and we will realize the revolutionary cause of Juche he initiated.

"I will, as ever, devote my all to the country and the people, bearing deeply in mind our people's absolute trust in and expectations in our Party."

To bring the cause of Juche, which began with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, to ultimate victory this is the political philosophy of Kim Jong Il, a man of great eminence who personifies loyalty and final piety and is a master of the literary and military arts.

## 2. Benevolent Politics, the Great Family of Single-Minded Unity

### 1) Benevolent Politics

The greatness of the respected leader Kim Jong Il as statesman stands out more clearly in the way he conducts politics.

The benevolent politics, which we can ascribe to his political method, is fundamental to and the model of socialist politics, embodying as it does his favourite philosophy of love for and trust in the masses.

He said

"We must conduct the politics of trust, the politics of love."

Benevolent politics, all-embracing politics, means guaranteeing the position and role of the masses, the masters of the state and of society, and leading them with affection and trust to the ideal society of mankind. In other words, it is the politics which presents the masses as the masters of politics and enlists their inexhaustible power; the politics which magnifies and effects man's independence, dignity and value, and the politics which favours people of all strata with love and trust.

By nature, politics and love should be closely tied, because they both represent the intrinsic demand of man, the demand for life in a social community.

Politics and love which were in conflict in the past, contrary to their original nature, became linked for the first time thanks to his political philosophy of love.

He has given a classical elucidation of the politics of love and trust.

"The revolution which realizes man's independence can be said the greatest love which brings man to perfection. This is the philosophy of love.

"True love is the power which perfects man by giving full play to man's independence and to the spirit of valuing man above all."

True love for man is the ideas and sentiments which prize and respect man's independence and dignity, and it is translated into reality through revolution, that is, politics which transforms nature, society and man.

The feeling of trust grows amidst love, and trust gives forth steady love. Unless it exists between individuals, between man and society and between the masses and the political leader, strong ties cannot be established and the community cannot maintain itself. In socialist society where class antagonisms have disappeared in social relations, and animosity and distrust in human relations have been replaced by the relations of love and trust, love and trust flourish in the social community and among the people, and these are found at their most sublime in the relations between the leader and the masses. That is why Kim Jong Il points out that affection for and trust in the masses constitute the essential nature of socialist politics and the motive force for politics.

"Love and trust constitute the essence of politics in socialist society, where the masses of the people have been transformed from objects in poli-

tics to the masters of politics. We call the politics of love and trust, benevolent politics."

What one depends on and what method one employs in conducting politics are the denominators that decide the position and direction of politics and are the key to its success.

In antagonistic class society the ruling class uses the political method of the "carrot and stick", that is, threats and coaxing. They have no other ways but coercion and deception, because the exploiter class and the masses are quite opposed to each other as regards their interests. In socialist society conducting politics through the medium of money or by any other material means is detrimental to man's nature. Building the ideal society of mankind itself is an undertaking the masses carry out for their own benefit. Accordingly the socialist political method should be one which urges the people to arise and work on a voluntary basis.

The new society should be built with trust in and love for the masses. Politics should take care of people with trust and affection, awaken their consciousness and encourage them to display their creativity. This is the basic content of the Kim Jong Il-type politics.

Love for and trust in man call forth greater strength than any order or remuneration can do. They directly become the motive force of struggle for the masses and the tonic that generates loyalty in their hearts. Love for and trust in the working masses and their burning allegiance in repayment — when these are integrated as one, the revolution and construction advance with tremendous force.

He said

"Our Party's benevolent politics is politics of extensive love and trust; the Party loves and trusts people from all areas of society without discrimination. In this sense, we call our Party's benevolent politics all-embracing politics. It is politics of invariable love and trust. Our Party is responsible for everyone's sociopolitical integrity and guides this."

Generally, the progressive character and the superiority of politics are expressed in the broad scope of love for the masses, as well as how much their demands for independence are satisfied. Just as one idea excels others when it reflects the will and demands of the broader masses, so it becomes more potent politics when it equally loves and embraces more strata of people.

Kim Jong Il's politics becomes greater politics since it is all-embracing

politics, he embraces all people aspiring for independence and favours them with sincere trust and warm love.

As to the success in ethical politics, that is, the benevolent and all-embracing politics based on love and trust, in north Korea, credit goes to the political philosophy, distinguished political qualities and noble virtues of Kim Jong Il who embodies President Kim Il Sung's idea, "belief in the people as in heaven"

Benevolent politics, all-embracing politics, does not arise of its own accord with the appearance of the socialist system. The founding of the socialist system only provides the preconditions for effecting people-centred politics. Genuine politics centred on the people can be introduced only by an outstanding leader, a great man who cherishes warm love for the masses.

The socialist political leader must be competent but, what is more important, possess the noble virtue of loving the people infinitely. Such is his conception and belief, epitomizing his political philosophy and his personality as a statesman.

He is widely recognized as a political genius, a statesman of great personality. His unexcelled political wisdom and farsightedness, his broad embrace and affinities, his outstanding skills at organization and his modesty in mixing with the masses all rise to the zenith of perfection, and these, well-blended with his sublime virtues, are integrated into his faultless capacity for guidance.

People, reading his works, acquaint themselves with his thoughts and theories and discover a new world and path in them. In the course of this they grow more passionately attached to him. His greatness comes, of course, from his ideological and theoretical qualifications, but what is more important is his own peculiar charm, that is, the way he generously takes all people into his embrace.

In order to grip the people's hearts and conquer the whole country, politics should be large in scale, and the statesman must be magnanimous. Narrow politics cannot embrace the whole of the masses, and a narrow-minded statesman is forsaken by the people. This is the very reason why emphasis is laid on a politician's magnanimity in his leadership. The leader's magnanimity is the decisive factor for the unity of the entire masses and for their advance toward their common objective. If a political leader is lacking in generosity and magnanimity, the politics of love and trust cannot strike

root. Kim Jong Il's all-embracing politics is proof that he is a man of great magnanimity.

His mind is as expansive as the sea. He believes in one's mind and trusts even those who once had a dagger in their bosom, if they seriously repent of their past doings. This is his trust, love and magnanimity. Indeed, under the sunshine of his all-embracing politics, all inhabitants of north Korea without exception are leading worthwhile lives as proud members of the great socialist family.

Most important of all, the virtues of a statesman is a passionate love for and trust in the masses. This is the fundamental thing which is more valuable than statesmanship, eloquent speech and the art of government. Love for and trust in the masses alone enhance the authority of the political leader. Only when a statesman is found ethically authoritative, do the masses follow him for the sake of the country and nation, and gladly abandon their individual interests. In this sense it is no exaggeration to say that love and trust are the contemporary Zeitgeist. "People's affairs are everything" and "People's minds reflect God's will", these phrases contain the profound philosophical meaning of politics. The exercise of politics by Kim Jong Il gives eloquent proof of this.

As seen above, Kim Jong Il's benevolent politics, is put into force by the political machinery of the WPK and the Government of the Republic.

The revolutionary party of the Juche-type is an organization of political guidance which endeavours to champion and work in the interests of the working masses.

He emphasizes that in socialist society the party must be built into a mother party before it becomes a weapon of class struggle.

The WPK demands that the cadres and its members cherish warm love for and have the spirit of service to the masses. The political ethics of the cadres and the members of the WPK is well summarized in his definition: "Those who undergo hardship before anybody else, while leaving pleasure behind, and who take on difficult tasks while giving credit for success to others." In north Korea bureaucratism, irregularities and corruption are disappearing owing to the popularization of such a manner of work with the people and of morality among the cadres. In contrast, the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states is the result of the socialist government parties not being built into mother parties.



but reduced to bureaucratic parties which domineered over the people and abused their power. So the general conclusion is that the ruin of the Soviet Union and these Eastern European socialist states did not come from the defeat of socialist ideology but from moral degeneration. Thus building the socialist ruling party into a mother party, and exercising benevolent politics by means of it, is a question of weighty importance directly concerning the future of socialism.

The benevolent politics rests on the work of the people's government as well as of the Juche-oriented working-class party.

The people's power, an all-inclusive political body in socialist society, performs the functions of unitary guidance in society as the representative of the rights to independence of the masses, the organizer of their creativity and so activities, and the house-keeper in charge of the people's livelihood. Experiences in socialist construction show that unless the guidance given by the people's power is based on love for the masses, it is difficult for it to enjoy respect and trust among the members of society, promote unity and concerted progress on the part of all members of society and maintain the socialist system itself. When the socialist people's government and the masses are on intimate terms and march ahead as one body pursuing the common aim and in the atmosphere of mutual trust, the benevolent politics, all-embracing politics, is carried out.

Then let me give a concrete instance of Kim Jong Il's benevolent politics. First, benevolent politics is carried out through working out lines and policies to meet the will and demands of the broad masses and executing them by enlisting the people's strength.

Since the key to politics lies in the shaping of the policy and its implementation, the criterion for political lines and policies and how they are executed are the yardstick for judging their worth.

To proceed from the love for and trust in the masses and to give top priority to their demands and interests are his faith and intentions.

He guides the working-class party and the state to advance and carry out political, economic and cultural policies in line with the interests and will of the masses.

This happened when the Ice Rink was built in the central part of Chollima Street in Pyongyang. Having examined the blueprints of the building, he said that since it was designed for public use the designers should heed the opinions of the people and advised the workers to raise a balloon in the

sky over the projected site and exhibit a model there. After having confirmed the approval of Pyongyangites, he instructed that construction go ahead at full swing. Thus he prizes what the masses say and orients all affairs in accordance with their demands. He deems that the people's opinions are of value, their judgement indicates which way the work should go and their choice should be the final decision.

He has the faith in and depends on the creative power of the masses for the successful implementation of all lines and policies.

He said that in working he was upholding the President's instructions as his motto that the primary duty of a revolutionary is to get acquainted with the masses and give full play to their might and wisdom.

The construction of Pyongyang city which is described as an "unprecedented event", has given rise to the shining structures he has built through believing in and depending on the wisdom and skill, the revolutionary enthusiasm and the creativity of the north Korean people.

Secondly, benevolent politics takes charge of and cares for the ideological, material and cultural lives of the people.

He sets store by and takes care of the political integrity of the people, this is a consistent fundamental principle which runs through all his political activities.

In January 1988, a meaningful ceremony took place in Ryongchon County, North Phyongan Province, when over 420 family members of people who were alleged to have been killed for "crimes they had committed against the people" during the June 25 Korean war were given certificates stating that their relatives were patriotic martyrs. He could not believe that in a relatively small county so many people who previously had been badly off had committed crimes against the people. So he dispatched a fact-finding group there to dig into the case.

Extensive investigation was launched in the county to get at the truth of the case which had been buried in an out-tray for the 40 odd years following the war. It was found that all of those killed turned out to be patriotic martyrs murdered by the enemy, contrary to the false charges that they had committed crimes against the people. And their bereaved families were all awarded the certificates of patriotic martyr.

This occurred when he was giving guidance in the cinematic circles. He happened to learn that an ordinary film actor was in untold agony. Formerly he had lived in south Korea and after the August 15 Liberation he joined an

organization of progressive artists, but had retired as the oppression intensified. Taking advantage of this, the Syngman Rhee government, with the intention of doing him harm, listed his name as a member of a reactionary organization without his knowledge, and announced that he had publicly declared his "ideological conversion." During the war he came over to the north as a volunteer and eventually distinguished himself as an actor. But he was unable to shake off the evil notoriety clinging to him because of that label. Deep anguish weighed him down at all times. Informed of all this, Kim Jong Il summoned the actor and expressed his trust in him. He said:

"I believe in you. So I do not accept what they said. I declare it entirely invalid!"

Afterwards he became a well-known People's Actor, and his daughter, a People's Actress, too, is lionized as a star in many productions.

Through this, we can see that underlying the benevolent politics in north Korea is his devotion to and trust in every person. This is clear proof that he is the protector of political integrity and a benevolent father who tries to prevent a shadow being cast over the political lives of anyone.

He grudges nothing to improve the people's livelihood, to say nothing of their political lives.

In April 1979, a consultative meeting took place in connection with the construction of a yeast production factory. At the time, he talked to the workers earnestly, opposing their suggestion that it should be put off because of the financial circumstances of the country. He said:

"It is true that counting the cost is necessary in order to build a factory. I don't deny it. But there is such a thing as need; it is no good to work the abacus first in all cases. If you like to calculate on an abacus, you can do nothing for the people. Think of your mother. If she has no cloth on hand, mother even cuts up her only holiday clothes to clothe her children. If the rice runs out, mother sells her hair to buy rice for her children. One should cherish such love, independent of counting the cost, when he or she can provide one more benefit for the people. A saying has it that one should have nothing to do with a losing business, but we should do things for the benefit of the people. If something is intended to provide a happy life for the people, it should be done even if it drains the nation's treasury. 'No counting the cost first for the sake of people!' this is my arithmetic and our Party's way of calculation."

This is what he is like. He opens a school for two or three children on a

lighthouse islet, has a commuter train and a commuter bus run for several schoolchildren, and ensures that a TV relay pylon is built for a few families in outlying areas, and helicopters fly to ensure the safe delivery of triplets or quadruplets, and they are cared for under the benevolence of the state. There are endless tales like these in north Korea illustrating his legendary affection. As a result, every family and individual in north Korea is provided equally with clothing, food and housing, and benefits from free education and medical treatment. They know nothing about taxation.

However, all this does not stand out in life. In most cases people are not conscious of it in everyday life. It is just like sunbeams which people do not notice while they are flooding the earth with light so that everything on earth is visible. The well-being of the north Korean population is the brilliant reality made possible by Kim Jong Il's benevolent politics.

Thirdly, benevolent politics is carried out by virtue of the serve-the-people spirit of all officials. He said:

"Love for the people and trust in them find concrete expression in the popular traits and character of officials."

History shows that a party and a government which have lost the people's support and trust by being bureaucratic and by domineering over the masses cannot survive.

Kim Jong Il sets an example in person in order that cadres think of themselves as faithful servants of the masses and mix with them sharing life and death, weal and woe with them and devote themselves to their welfare.

"Let us go among the masses. The masses are wise teachers, and reality is an excellent textbook," this is his invariable opinion.

He always visits the masses, for instance, smelters working in front of the open-hearth furnace and miners at the work face, to have heart-to-heart talks with them. He carefully listens to what a miner says amidst the noise of the machines, and drops in at hostels and dining halls to acquaint himself with the minutest details of their life. Visiting a farm village, he heartily chats with farmers sitting knee to knee with them, goes into their homes, puts his hand on the floor to feel how warm it is and heeds the simple opinions of the housewife. At shops he looks into the "book of service" to the villagers, and at school he attends a class session to give advice to the teacher. Like this, he thinks he should go to every place where people work, and constantly gives on-the-spot guidance.

He always lives among the masses, shares their joys and sorrows, awakens them to reality and learns from them unreservedly.

He says that all leading personnel should acquire a popular style of work, simple, modest, fair and upright, and become people of pure heart and clean hands. He emphasizes that officials should display humanity and kindness to the masses.

Receiving a report about the actual conditions in a mine, he learned that the workers' faces were affected by black lead dust. Instantly he called an extraordinary Political Bureau meeting of the CC of the WPK and summoned responsible workers from all provinces to Pyongyang.

The meeting first heard the report about the working conditions at the drying ground of the mine in question and severely criticized the responsible worker of the province who was indifferent to the working condition of workers. After the meeting he met him separately and said seriously:

"You said you were sorry and ashamed to see me. But you must apologize to the workers, instead of asking my pardon."

"The Premier and I, not to mention the chief secretary of the provincial Party committee, ought to kneel down before them and ask pardon for having them work in such conditions... The right to judgement over the mistakes of officials rests with the workers."

Because of this, a big campaign swept north Korea to improve working conditions.

Kim Jong Il is really a statesman whose motto is "belief in the people as in heaven" and who leads all officials of the Party and government to live and work as selfless servants of the people and who always sets an example for them.

## 2) Great Family of Single-Minded Unity

North Korea is floodlighted as the first country where the people who are united as one with the leader at the centre, and is acclaimed as the sole country in which all the members of society form a great family, tied by the bonds of ethics and fidelity and who help each other, each pulling the other forward. The all-out unity of the masses is the ideal of history and the ultimate objective of politics.

However, the unity of millions of the masses does not come into effect

according to one's wish. The merits of politics are determined and the capacity of the political leader appraised by how large a population they have won over and how firmly they have united them. In this sense Kim Jong Il deserves to be called an outstanding statesman, the master of politics who has achieved the single-minded unity of the entire population based on one ideology and one centre, and who has convened the whole nation into a great harmonious family.

Speaking of the close unity of north Korean society that is the shining fruit of benevolent politics, he said:

"The leader, the Party and the masses integrated into a sociopolitical entity in which they share their fate, along with the whole of society forming a single great revolutionary community—this is the true nature of our society, and we can be proud of it."

One of his outstanding political accomplishments is the unity of the entire people based on one centre and one ideology.

When the working class emerged on the stage of history, unity was the only weapon in its hands. Whether or not it could blow up the stronghold of capital depended on how extensive and solid that unity was.

When a prominent leader appeared and the masses were centred around him with one ideology, the revolution was victorious; if not, it ended in failure. Revolution meant unity which immediately led to victory.

President Kim Il Sung was a great leader who attained the unity and cohesion of the entire masses for the first time in our history, by making strenuous efforts and through his devotion. His whole life was dedicated to the sacred cause of uniting the revolutionary ranks and rallying the whole nation.

Kim Jong Il enhanced the unity of the masses forged by the President so that it has reached the peak of monolithic unity, that is, the integrated whole of the leader, the Party and the masses.

"The Party and the leader believe in and have profound love for the people, and the people place absolute trust in the Party and the leader and support them. This is the true nature of our single-minded unity."

He was the first one to construct the framework of monolithic unity, which is composed of the leader, the Party and the masses, proceeding from oneness in thought and a single centre. This is the pure ideological unity based on the immortal Juche idea, the crystallization of love and loyalty between the leader and the masses and of broad solidarity embracing the



whole people. For the strongest unity of the masses, the guiding idea must be perfect, and the monolithic thought must be secured firmly. This is the demand of Kim Jong Il's political philosophy. Furthermore, for the highest sublimation of the people's unity, the Party, the leader and the masses must be tied with bonds of love and trust, allegiance and filial piety, morality and fidelity. This is his conviction.

The unity of the leader, the Party and the masses which he has achieved through his politics of love and trust and his wholehearted endeavours demonstrated its true nature in connection with the passing away of President Kim Il Sung.

In the 12 days following his death, over 1,670,000, or one third of the five million north Korean youth pledged to become the guns and shells defending the Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il and volunteered to enlist or re-enlist in the Korean People's Army. Nearly 30,000 workers from factories and enterprises and senior middle school graduates aspired to work on the co-operative farms associated with the historical guidance given by President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Jong Il's emotion was too great to suppress at the sight of the north Korean people mourning the loss of the President; he felt the people's pure and fiery hearts of loyalty to the leader and read their rock-firm minds as they vowed to endeavour to realize the revolutionary cause of Juche, so overcoming their heartrending grief at the loss of the President.

Late one night during the period of national mourning, he visited Mansu Hill where the statue of President Kim Il Sung stands. Although it was raining heavily, citizens were streaming to the President's statue all through the night; a group of students was seen going up the steps carrying a wreath. They were shielding it with their coats as if to protect it from the rain; a grey-haired granny was coming, a bunch of flowers under her coat, wiping away her tears continually. What he witnessed that night when even the sky poured down rain of tears and the earth was writhing in grief, was not only the wild waves of agonizing distress but the pure and stalwart hearts of the north Korean people, old and young, who were burning with loyalty and filial piety.

Saying that he was moved to tears by these scenes, he remarked that our people far excelled other nations in worshipping their leader and holding him in high esteem; they are incomparably noble people distinguished in their ideological and emotional aspects and in their mental and ethical traits and that the attributive "great" should be added to our people.

He used to tell officials that they should work harder for the benefit of such good people. He said:

"At present our people would say that they are blessed with a distinguished leader. Looking at such fine people, I am overwhelmed by the thought that we are blessed with a good people."

The song the north Korean people sing to express their bliss at being led by the distinguished leader is a paean to the love, trust and benevolent politics of the respected leader Kim Jong Il. Speaking of the leader's bliss at having a good people, it is also brilliant fruit borne by his great political philosophy. That unity and cohesion are coupled with the bliss of having a good people, that is the offspring of his people-centred politics, and the bliss of being led by a distinguished leader, herein lie the indestructibility and ever-victorious might and immortal viability of the single-minded unity of the leader, the Party and the people, the credit for which goes to him.

He has built a Shangri-la of benevolent politics in the flower land of human love. This is precisely the large harmonious family of north Korean society in which the principle of collectivism, "One for all, all for one", prevails and all the people help each other, each leading another forward. The governing relations of human society preceding the birth of socialism were characterized by exploitation and oppression, egoism and apathy, antagonism and jealousy. But the establishment of the socialist system did not inevitably usher in a society marked by relations of kinship. History and practice show that the look of a society changes according to the leader's political philosophy and his art of leadership.

Kim Jong Il has brought into existence a great harmonious family of happy people who are blessed with an outstanding leader as father, and the Workers' Party of Korea as mother and united as one by the bonds of comradeship. In other words, family ties and ethics in kinship have been extended and reproduced to form a family-type society.

The global picture is that far from keeping social harmony and unity, countries and nations, races and political factions are locked in bloody hostilities, ostracizing and sacrificing others. In addition, the mammonistic values and rabid individualism coupled with the deformed progress of material civilization have demolished human morality and ethics and driven even people of same blood into bloody domestic feuds. As we cross the threshold of the 21st century, we see people shedding blood in a desperate struggle for existence influenced by the law of the jungle. This is the shame of

mankind and a stigma on modern history. This is why progressive people look with envy at north Korean socialism which is blossoming like a flower in an eastern corner of Asia.

Follows his statement explaining what type of socialism is north Korean socialism, which he has built by means of the politics of love and trust.

"It is a true feature of our society that all its members form a large, harmonious family. They trust, love and help each other, and enjoy a worthwhile and happy life together."

It is necessary to look into the relations between the leader, the Party and the masses and the interrelations of the masses themselves. As mentioned above, the leader is the top brain of the sociopolitical organism which represents the will to independence of the masses, the pivot of unity and cohesion and the centre of guidance for the revolution and construction.

At present relations between the leader and the masses are not only relations between leader and soldiers but also relations between father and children. Father loves his children, not because he expects them to gratify some sort of desire on his part in the future. He does so because he is a life-giver to them. Kim Jong Il's love for the masses is similar to a father's, who seeks no reward and is entirely selfless and unconditional in giving his love.

In the meantime, the people of north Korea are born amidst his blessings and grow up under his care; they are given political integrity by him and enjoy a happy life, bathing in the sea of his affection. They live and work considering it only natural, which is far from a sense of obligation, to follow his thoughts and will and show filial piety to him.

How are the people interrelated with each other must be one of the basic signs that characterize the features of a given society.

In the Juche-oriented socialist system of north Korea, all members of society are the masters of the state and of society, so that they enjoy relationships of freedom and equality.

He set revolutionary duty and comradeship based on the collectivist viewpoint on life, which presupposes relationships of freedom and equality as the basic principle of ethics in the relationships among the people. Thus a society grounded on the principle of revolutionary duty and comradeship, that are manifested in the slogan, "One for all, all for one", has come into being for the first time in history.

Today the people of north Korea gladly accept the ideas and will of the Party and the leader as the demands of life and quietly dedicate their lives to their implementation, not minding public acknowledgement, they think the interests of the community dearer than personal interests and find life's worth and pleasure in making efforts for the benefit of others rather than for their own benefit. The WPK hails them as "unassuming heroes" and "unpresuming people of merit" and the whole of society is swept into the "campaign to follow the example of the unassuming heroes".

In the capitalist states, man's internal organs, such as the kidney, heart and eyeballs are sold and bought. In north Korea, however, things are different. The doctors and nurses at the Anju City People's Hospital, South Phyongan Province, grafted 280 pieces of skin taken from their own bodies for a patient in a serious burn case. And an ophthalmologist transplanted conjunctiva taken from the eyes of his wife and children on to the eyes of patients for them to recover their sight. Many a people adopt orphan children or helpless old folks as their children or parents. Instances such as these are innumerable, so they are considered mere commonplace.

The human eulogy of Juche Korea will be everlasting, together with the poem about the wise guidance and undying political exploits of Kim Jong Il who has built a great harmonious family overflowing with beautiful love and virtues, which were previously the long-cherished ideal of humankind.

### 3. Independent Politics

An analysis of north Korea's pursuance of socialist politics concludes that it purposefully secures the unity of the people in thought and action so as to make them the masters of the state and society and lead the society to comply with the demands and intentions of the masses. In reference to the mode of politics, this can be defined as a completely mass-based independent politics.

If you have a talk with north Koreans, you will be surprised to see how serious they are about matters relating to independence and the independent character of their nation. In contrast to Englishmen who prize intelligence

and fairness, the north Korean people hold independence as the basic principle in their politics. It is quite natural that in world political circles north Korea is appraised as "the power of independent politics." If you grasp even the outlines of north Korea's independent politics enforced by Kim Jong Il, you will see that it is an apt appreciation without any prejudice or exaggeration.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il is renowned as a paragon among statesmen in the modern times. I should say this is because of his steadfast independent politics. He conducts the people-centred independent politics by virtue of uncommon energy, rare organizational ability and iron willpower.

Independent politics means that one works out and executes every line and policy in accordance with one's guiding ideal and one's own decisions. It is possible to defend the independence of the country and the nation and carry on all political affairs in the interests of one's people. In other words, the politics of protecting the interests of one's people relying on one's own strength.

If pressure and interference by outside forces are tolerated or if one dances to another's tune in the arena of politics, independence cannot be maintained and the independence of the country and the nation is violated. Political independence constitutes the first symbol and the life and soul of a sovereign independent state. Without political independence one cannot decide and settle independently questions arising in the spheres of the economy, culture and national defence, to say nothing of politics. A government which cannot exercise independent politics but meekly follows others gratifying their pleasure does not deserve the name of a sovereign independent state. Just as a man without political independence loses his life as a social being so a country without political independence ceases to exist as a sovereign independent state.

A survey of the global political chart shows that it is not every state that maintains independence. Quite a few nations, however good their grounds, are in thrall to big countries politically and too cautious with others, watching for their reactions.

A typical example is the case of south Korea under the jackboots of an occupation force. Despite the existence of a "government", it is denied political independence and so is labelled as a shameful puppet government at the mercy of outside pressure and at beck and call of foreigners.

The successive rulers of south Korea have shown themselves to be a froash jade in unrequited love with Uncle Sam and submissive to him, not once did they speak their minds.

In contrast, north Korea whose population and territory are not so large and which is geopolitically sandwiched between big countries, renounces dogmatism and flunkeyism and holds fast to political independence.

Kim Jong Il is a resolute independent statesman who maps out and executes every policy according to his own decisions and in the interests of the masses, policy suited to the specific conditions of the country. In the execution of politics, one of the merits which highlight his steadfast independent stand is that he wiped away the survivals of flunkeyism and dogmatism in the political and ideological arenas by waging a decisive struggle against them.

Here President Kim Il Sung's instructions that flunkeyism makes a person an idiot, drives a nation into the pit of ruin and leads a party into making a mess of revolution and construction became the watchword for Kim Jong Il's political activity. So he is ever cautious not to allow the slightest tendency of dogmatism and flunkeyism in policy-making.

Kim Jong Il used to tell officials that the people with a high sense of national pride are able to build an independent and thriving new society and reject all manners of domination and subjugation, that generally, national pride is a must for every people, particularly for a small nation, and that a small nation lacking in national pride cannot retain the national character peculiar to it.

Even in the present pandemonium of world politics in which international justice is violated by force on the rampage, north Korea worthy as it is of national pride holds high the standard of independent politics and acts boldly. All this is thanks to the political credo of the outstanding leader Kim Jong Il.

His political faith and creed are condensed into such expressions as "Our nation-first doctrine" and "Our style".

Already in his youth he hated the practice of blindly beautifying foreign things without national pride and loved things national. As is widely known, he declined the opportunity to study in the Soviet Union, saying, "We have a fine university in our Pyongyang. I should like to study with my comrades at Kim Il Sung University." This tells of his strong spirit of national identity. As the saying goes, a carpenter is known by his chips, his



politics is based on his viewpoint on the value and faith that his nation is number one naturally, and it turns out to be the politics of independence.

It can be said that the fate of independent politics is determined by the way one administers state affairs in a creative manner befitting the specific circumstances and conditions of the country. The key to success in the performance of independent politics is his politics of "our style" as has been proved by the experience of north Korea.

"After all 'our style' created by our Party is best of all

"Foreign style does not agree well with our body and taste.

"To live aided by others, copying others, dancing to the tune of others and envying foreign fashions, I hate this most.

"Therefore our Party demands that the whole people arm themselves with the Korean nation-first doctrine, assume attitudes worthy of the master and carry forward the revolution and construction in our style."

Thus "our style" he invariably stands by and emphasizes is not a simple matter regarding ways and means for the exercise of politics. He raised it as a fundamental political slogan of weighty importance in the establishment of Juche in the revolution and construction.

"Let us live our own way!" this strategic slogan of the WPK means that one thinks and acts sober-mindedly as required by the Juche idea and resolves everything by one's own efforts for the benefit of one's revolution and for the masses. In short, politics is conducted in the "Korean style", "Juche-oriented manner".

Here is an instance of his "our style" politics, unaffected by flunkeyism and dogmatism

When the socialist countries, trapped in the imperialists' strategy of "peaceful transition", were fussing over "reform" campaigns, such as the introduction of the capitalist way of administration, reorganization of the ownership system and economic structures, Kim Jong Il clarified revolutionary principles, that is, "Victory is when you defend socialism, death is when you discard it", saying that it was not a simple matter concerning economic development but whether one chooses socialist "independence" or capitalist "subordination". He pointed out that economic difficulties in certain socialist countries were not attributable to the socialist economic system itself but derived from the fact that they failed to apply a rational method of collective management in order to give full play to the superiority of the socialist collectivist economy. Then he reaffirmed the necessity of

transforming the whole of society according to the Juche idea, the line of ideological, economic and cultural revolutions and the Taseon work system, the socialist economic management system effective in north Korea.

Although capitalism has made a comeback with the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states, north Korea is steadfast in following the line of building "our style" socialism. This stark reality is proof of the superiority and viability of the independent politics enforced by Kim Jong Il.

He has independent political sense with which he discovers, if necessary fresh solutions, not hindered by preconceived conceptions or lines

Proceeding from a profound analysis of the latest changes in the international situation, such as the continued threats of aggression and economic blockade by the imperialists, and of the economic situation in north Korea, he set the coming two or three years as a period of adjustment and advanced a new revolutionary economic strategy with the main emphasis on agriculture, light industry and foreign trade, the task to be fulfilled in the period. He appealed to the people to raise higher the banner of self-reliance for its successful fulfillment. This was, I should say, a bold independent decision he made to cope with the prevailing situation.

Kim Jong Il's politics is the politics of independence. He is building an independent national economy in the spirit of self-reliance, a self-reliant national defence depending on the defensive forces of independence; he strives for national reunification on the principles of independence, peace and great national unity, and the building of Juche-oriented national culture.

His political faith in independence as seen above derives from the lessons of history and the needs of our epoch and rests on the trust in the indestructible might and great strength of the masses.

What brings the great image of Kim Jong Il into relief as the master of independent politics is the fact that he is building socialism unwaveringly in north Korea, facing the unprecedented attacks on socialism by imperialism, the collapse of socialism and particularly the pressures and offensives by the allied forces of imperialism. As a matter of course, so long as the Juche idea, the philosophical basis of politics, is upheld as the political ideal in the north, its politics is bound to become independent even when the leadership is handed over to the next generation. However, in order to defend the nature of independent politics, it is necessary to elect a leader

who is faithful to the independent politics, let alone its political ideal. In this sense, the appraisal of north Korea as "the power of politics" is precisely a eulogy on Kim Jong Il's image as a great politician who has converted north Korea into a centre of politics, a cradle of independent politics, as the focus of envy among progressive mankind, by virtue of distinguished political prescience, keen political sensitivity, rare political boldness and decisiveness, unusual political astuteness and art.

When we refer to north Korea's relations with foreign countries, it is an open secret that she has been placed under the constant threat of aggression from the US and from big power chauvinist pressure from the former Soviet Union. But not once did she ever compromise with or yield to any threat or pressure whatever from without.

Then what strength is it that made small north Korea stoutly defend its independence in contention with the superpowers, and not yield an inch? Unquestionably it is the might of his independent politics.

Kim Jong Il's politics dates back to the 1970s, but his political influence was effective from the latter half of the '60s.

In January 1968, the US spy ship of the latest model, the *Pueblo*, was captured by the People's Army in the north Korean territorial waters. This was the well-known "*Pueblo* incident", a shock to the world as a case unheard-of in the 200-year-long history of the United States. The US fleets which swarmed to the territorial waters of the Korean peninsula, and supercharged military pressure brought about a touch-and-go war crisis and diplomatic pressure was given by the Soviet Union. Shattering all these visible and invisible threats and coercion, north Korea compelled Uncle Sam to come out and sign a written apology at Panmunjom. Behind all this, were the strategy and decisive tactics of the leader Kim Jong Il who was assisting President Kim Il Sung.

Entering the 1990s, the last decade of the present century, people have witnessed upheavals like the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist states. A period of cold war between East and West which had begun in Yalta came to end in Malta. World politics today shows that the axis of world politics has shifted from USSR versus US, to Korea versus US.

The 1993-94 US defence budget approved by Congress amounted to 270 billion dollars. To quote the 1993-1994 "white paper on national defence" issued by the south Korean authorities, north Korea's military

expenditure for 1992 was given as 5.5 billion dollars or one fiftieth of the US figure. Its territory is one seventy-eighth of the US, its population one tenth of the latter. Whereas the US stands at the head of the allied imperialist forces, north Korea fights solo. Disregarding such a sharp imbalance in the strength of the two countries, the US accuses north Korea of being "the greatest danger to US security". The United States which is pursuing a new world strategy against the newly emerging industrial states of East Asia, following the end of the East-West showdown, sought a quarrel with north Korea, swollen as it was with its KO bout with Iraq. On January 26, 1993, the US publicized the resumption of the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, and in February Lie Bentler, the newly appointed commander of the US Strategic Command stated that his strategic nuclear weapons were relevelled against north Korea, instead of the Soviet Union. And the US CIA chief commented that north Korea was the "greatest concern of the United States". In mid-March the US started "Team Spirit", its nuclear war game, in violation of the basic principles of the NPT, that is, that the non-nuclear states shall be free from nuclear blackmail by the nuke-holding states. Thus world politics focused on the US-Korea showdown, which had replaced the USSR-US showdown.

In retaliation, north Korea issued a bombshell of a statement that to counter the threatening "Team Spirit" war games she had entered a semi-war footing, and when the US attempted the special inspection of her under the pretext of "nuclear suspicion" she stated that she would withdraw from the NPT.

World public was struck with admiration at the decisive and bold steps taken by north Korea.

The political perception and insight of Kim Jong Il, who is used to changing woe into weal by taking advantage of every political adversity or crisis, are mysterious and a wondrous capacity which allows no imitation by others. In fact, the mysterious clairvoyance, foresight and bold decisiveness shown by him in the kaleidoscopic development of international politics can hardly be given logical explanation. If we speak of his decisive steps, he seizes the occasion by the forelock and no matter what the circumstances, he is quick to command the situation. And such bold decisiveness is backed by full strength. Herein lies the secret of success in the execution of his decisions.

His outstanding leadership and political traits stood out once again in the course of the Korea-US negotiations.

Even under the extremely strained situation when north Korea had gone onto a semi-war footing and voiced its intention to withdraw from the NPT, he dragged the US out to the negotiation table as soon as the "Team Spirit" war games concluded, by free command of tough and moderate tactics. This displayed marvellous diplomatic tact by which the Korea-US high-level talks opened after the 40-year-long tug-of-war between the two countries following the Geneva conference in 1954. And despite desperate obstructions on the part of the Seoul and Tokyo authorities under the pretext of "international cooperation system", north Korea responded with flexible and proficient tactics and, in the long run, dispelled the so-called nuclear suspicion and opened the door to the normalization of Korea-US relations. The US President, in accordance with diplomatic etiquette, sent the Supreme Leader Kim Jong Il an official letter guaranteeing implementation of the agreements, giving the full name of north Korea.

The October 23, 1994, issue of the Pakistani paper *The News* wrote that north Korea's victory in the Korea-US parley was unthinkable apart from its political, economic and military might. As it put it, it is true that the unity of the leader and the masses and the dynamic military might bore down upon the White House. But it is not strength that is decisive to the victory of a country in confrontation with a superpower. The Soviet Union collapsed without firing a gun; this was not because it was physically weak.

Kim Jong Il has fortified the country so impreguably that whatever enemy, however strong, would not dare to attack it. At the same time, he "attained his objective with dexterity" by showing "marvellous diplomatic ability".

People's admiration at his remarkable political features knows no bound. The Korea-US talks, which ended in the former's KO victory, is worthy of the name of masterpiece of politics in this century, born out of his keen political perception, bold decisiveness and ability to promote work in a revolutionary way. Being clairvoyant, he is adept in seizing the ripe moment. So once he tackles a task with determination, it comes to a successful solution without the slightest deviation or without set back.

The three rounds of the Korea-US parley epitomize these wonderful political traits of Kim Jong Il. In particular, north Korea's suggestion to exchange its graphite reactor for a light water reactor might be likened without exaggeration to a superb diplomatic performance peculiar to him, which caught the opponent unprepared, and getting the better of him. What underlies such bold decisiveness and the driving force is unbending iron will and nerves of steel, which make him so bold that he does not blink an eye, even if the heavens fall. Such courage and willpower succeeded in what looked unfeasible, and transformed adversity to good fortune to the amazement of the world.

Professor Ri Yong Hui of Hanyang University in Seoul described north Korea's part in the Korea-US parley as the "acme of diplomatic negotiations", which reminded one of the giant, Uncle Sam, playing on the palm of a pygmy. His boast motivated by such sensational emotions clearly shows pride in the nation. The downing of a US army reconnaissance helicopter in north Korea on December 17, 1994, was another proof of Korea's resolute stand and admirable diplomatic tactics whereby Korea does not budge an inch in matters concerning her independence.

The appraisal of north Korea as a "political power" is a natural tribute to the achievements of his independence of politics, which contribute much to international politics and to the preservation of world peace.

The Korean peninsula has been the theatre of the hottest showdown in the international political arena in this century. In particular, the beginning of the 1990s marked as it was by temporary difficulties with socialism in the confrontation with imperialism, the Korean peninsula became the target of the allied imperialist forces' political pressure, economic blockade and military threat. As a result it is now on the danger line of war.

An outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula means at once a nuclear war and another world war.

Nevertheless, the respected leader Kim Jong Il steadily following the road of independence, has pushed aside the increasing danger of war and paved the road to peace, striving with iron will for the good of socialism and the independence of the nation.

This is the noteworthy contribution of his independent politics to world peace.



The expression "political power" reflects the feeling of infinite trust cherished by progressive people in the political stand of Kim Jong Il, who leads the cause of the internationalization of independence and the trend towards an epoch of independence, with the ideals of independence, friendship and peace.

## V. The Leader of Socialist Construction

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## 1. The Great Programme for Building Socialism

What is the plan for realizing the great cause of the respected leader Kim Il Sung who took up the historic task of carrying forward and realizing the Juche cause, and what are his services in building a welfare society? These questions shall be dealt with in order to understand his far-sighted statesmanship and excellent leadership.

In February, 1974, he proclaimed the revolutionary thinking of President Kim Il Sung to be the guiding idea of the era of independence, and put forward a plan for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea as the great programme for building socialism.

This programme is an epoch-making one for building the ideal society where the independence of the popular masses is realized to the full by remoulding human being, society and nature as required by the Juche idea.

It states concisely the general goal and way forward for building socialism and the basic method for its implementation.

It is a prerequisite for the successful realization of the cause of socialism and communism to clarify scientifically the strategic target and the way to this end, and this makes it possible to push ahead with building of socialism and communism purposefully without deviation. And only when the strategic line paving the way to the main strategic goal is correctly worked out, can the building of socialism and communism be led to success without deviation.

To clarify the general target and the way for the building of socialism and communism is one of the important theoretical problems which have been posed ever since the working class emerged in the arena of the struggle against capital. But in the past, understanding of communism remained within the bounds of presumption and supposition, and the main strategic target of the building of communism and the strategic line for its implementation could not be scientifically clarified.

As is generally known, Marx regarded communist society as a society which so abounds in material wealth that each works according to his ability and receives according to his need. In Lenin's schema for building com-

munist, "Communism equals Soviet government plus electrification of the whole country". Here, electrification can be understood as stressing that solid material and technical foundations should be laid on a high level in order to build communism. In other words, Lenin regarded the building of communism as having been completed when the communist principle of distribution "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is put into practice by attaining a high development of the productive forces after establishing undivided communist ownership over the means of production through Soviet government. Hence it follows that the classics up to now set it as the ultimate goal for the building of communism to attain material abundance and thus one-sidedly confined the building of communism to the occupation of the material fortress.

However, it can never be said that a communist society has been built unless the people, the masters of society, are remoulded as communist human beings, even though the productive forces have reached a high level of development and there is abundant material wealth.

President Kim Il Sung illuminated the main strategic target for building communism and the way to reach it for the first time in history by putting forward the idea of occupying the ideological fortress of communism and the theory of ideological, technical and cultural revolutions based on a scientific exposition of communist society.

Communist society is the ideal society of mankind where nature, society and human beings are remoulded to meet the requirements of communism, and the independence of the popular masses is completely realized. To build such a communist ideal society it is necessary to occupy both the ideological and material fortresses of communism.

The ideological and mental life and the material life of human beings constitute two spheres of social life, and the independence of the popular masses should be attained in both spheres.

Occupation of the communist ideological fortress means remoulding all layers of society into communists by revolutionizing them, working-classing and intellectualizing them. To occupy the material fortress of communism means to establish undivided communist ownership over the means of production and to develop the productive forces to a high enough level to effect distribution according to need.

Occupation of the ideological fortress means to working-class human beings and to meet communist requirements, whereas the occupation of the

material fortress implies the remaking of nature as required by communism. The ideological fortress is captured through ideological and cultural revolutions, whereas the material fortress is seized through technical revolution. The communist ideal society which people have aspired to for centuries will eventually be set up on new soil on the basis of the occupation of the ideological and material fortresses, with the remoulding of human beings, society and nature being completed through the ideological, technical, and cultural revolutions.

Kim Jong Il early elucidated a unique theory based on a scientific analysis of the position and role played by the leader in historical development and in advancing the cause of independence of the masses, that the cause of socialism and communism is precisely the cause of the leader, and that the course of building socialism and communism is the historic process of putting the leader's thinking into practice. This theory is a distinguished one which throws a new light on the laws governing the building of socialism and communism.

On such a theoretical basis, he evolved the theory of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea, the quintessence of which is to imbue the whole of society with the leader's thinking, and put forward as the supreme programme of the WPK to build a communist society, guided by the Juche idea, the revolutionary idea of President Kim Il Sung. In this sense, the programme for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea can be said to be the perfect programme for building communism, and this throws a new light on the general goal of building communism and the way for its implementation, on the basis of developing in depth the theory of the occupation of the two fortresses of communism and that of the three revolutions clarified by President Kim Il Sung.

The programme for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea gives a clear-cut elucidation of the strategic target for building communism, and clearly indicates a shortcut for successfully realizing the cause of socialism and communism.

According to Kim Jong Il, modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea means advancing the revolution with the Juche idea as the single guide line and building a communist society on the basis of this idea. In other words, it means making all members of society true communists of the Juche type who are thoroughly imbued with the Juche idea, and occupying

the ideological and material fortresses of communism by remoulding nature and society as required by the Juche idea.

These are the two essential inseparable components for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

Here the main emphasis should be put on training people to become communists of the Juche type as required by the Juche idea. Nature and society cannot be remoulded as required by the Juche idea without giving precedence to human remoulding, because people are the main agent for remoulding nature and society. Communist society is a society where all members have been remoulded into true communists, all rounders, into independent, creative and conscious beings possessing a high degree of the sense of independence and creativity. To remould all members of society into communists of the Juche type means to train them to be harmoniously developed persons free from the fetters of outdated ideology and culture and possessed of an independent ideological consciousness, lofty morality, deep understanding of nature and society, and a strong physique; all this by training them thoroughly with the Juche idea.

With the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist system, a great change takes place in the ideological and moral traits of the people. But this does not mean that members of society have been completely remoulded in the communist manner. Modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea means bringing the ideological and mental traits and qualities of all members of society up to the level required by communist society by remoulding them in line with the Juche idea.

Another fundamental for modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea is to remould nature and society in accordance with the Juche idea. This means to make everything in nature and society serve the popular masses by remoulding the natural environment and all spheres of social life, including politics, the economy and culture to meet their desires and needs.

Socialist society is a society where the working masses are the masters of everything, and everything is made to serve the people.

But in socialist society each sphere of social life, including the economy and culture, does not reach a high enough level to provide the people with fully independent and creative lives. In socialist society there remain differences in ownership, between city and countryside, class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, differences between physical



and mental labour and also in the level of material life, culture and education.

To remould nature and society as required by the Juche idea is to provide all members of society with an independent and creative lives by abolishing all these differences, by establishing communist social relations to ensure complete social equality and by remaking the natural environment to meet the desires and needs of the popular masses.

To model the whole of society on the Juche idea is the only way to build the communist ideal society. Only by shaping the whole of society as required by the Juche idea can the cause of socialism and communism to realize the independence of the popular masses be ultimately brought to victory.

The Juche idea is the only correct guiding idea representing the entire historical era of the present age and future of communism. The programme for remaking the whole of society as required by the Juche idea is one for building communism which, based on a scientific elucidation of the historic position held by the Juche idea, illuminates the way to realize the highest ideal of mankind, guided by the Juche idea.

The Juche idea throws scientific light onto the shape and essential requirements of communist society and upon the laws governing its realization.

The communist ideal society expounded by the Juche idea is, first, a society where the independence of the people is stoutly defended and in full bloom, where all members become the masters of the world and of their own destiny, and in which everything in nature and society is entirely made to serve the people. Secondly, it is not merely an equalitarian society, but a society of single-minded unity where all members are linked by love and trust and thus are firmly united in thought and purpose. It is a truly free and peaceful society where social relations and the mode of activity have been extensively based on the principle of collectivism, "One for all, all for one!" and thus where all people develop together and live harmoniously by helping and leading each other forward.

The immortal Juche idea exhaustively describes the ideological and mental qualities to be possessed not only by the people who are endeavouring to build socialism and communism at present but also by the people who will live in the future communist society and the social relations and the mode of activity which will be established in that society. The society

where the Juche idea is extensively implemented is precisely the communist ideal society, and that is one of the reasons why modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea has become the programme for building communism.

The Juche idea also throws scientific light on the true course for building communism and on the strategy and line of struggle to be consistently followed along this course. It brilliantly illuminates the whole historical course for building socialism and communism, such as the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the complete victory of socialism and the gradual transition from completely victorious socialist society to communist society.

The Juche idea gives an extensive account of the fundamental principle to be consistently adhered to in the building of communism and the way for its implementation by making clear that the occupation of both ideological and material fortresses requires firm adherence to the independent and creative stands and the energetic promotion of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. Here is another reason why modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea is the perfect programme for building communism.

Having himself on a scientific elucidation of and analysis of the subjective and objective conditions for imbuing the whole of society with one ideology, the leader's ideology, the respected leader Kim Jong Il put forward as the optimum programme of the WPK to model the whole of society on the Juche idea.

He has made it clear that in order to put forward the slogan of imbuing the whole of society with one ideology and to put it into effect there must be the correct guiding idea reflecting above all the requirements of the era, and a high degree of readiness on the part of the popular masses to accept it and an organized political force, and imbuing the whole of society with one ideology should be put forward as the chief requirement of the development of society and revolution.

North Korea had these conditions when Kim Jong Il set forth the programme of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

First, the Juche idea illuminated the road ahead for the era and popular masses. Having the Juche idea, the guiding idea of the era of independence, was the decisive factor for imbuing the whole of society with one ideology.

Secondly, solid material and technical foundations of socialism have been laid with the establishment of the socialist system and industrialization.

With the establishment of the socialist system the old social relations encroaching on the independence of the popular masses were abolished and new social relations at the service of the people have been formed. This marks a turning point in reforming social relations to meet the needs of the masses for independence. In addition to this, the establishment of the socialist system has created favourable conditions for remoulding the people. When a socialist system is set up, the people's social and economic status is equalized and hence the aims and interests of people coincide. This provides favourable conditions for imbuing all members of society with one ideology. Socialist industrialization and the solid buildup of the material and technical foundations of socialism provide the material basis for remoulding the people, society and nature in the communist manner.

Thirdly, north Korea could advance the programme of modeling the whole of society on the Juche idea because, a mighty political force was sufficiently prepared. What is most important here is to strengthen the Party, the heart and the leading force of society, and to enhance its role.

Under the wise guidance of the leader Kim Jong Il, the WPK has become more consolidated organizationally and ideologically in the 1970s with President Kim Il Sung as the centre, and has developed to become an energetic and seasoned Party leading the revolution and construction to victory without deviation, and as an ever-victorious Party of the highest authority recognized by the world. As all the people are closely united around the Party and leader, the single-minded unity of the leader, the Party and the people has been strengthened.

Grasping in time all these subjective and objective conditions and needs, Kim Jong Il set it forth as the general task of building socialism and communism and as the maximum programme of the WPK to model the whole of society on the Juche idea. To make one ideology hold undivided sway over the whole of society can be put forward only by the working class and its party, and is possible only in socialist society.

Modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea is the great programme of communism put forward for the first time in the struggle for liberation of the working class. With this programme, it has been made clear that the course of building socialism and communism is one of imbuing the whole of society with leader's revolutionary idea. Thus has

the history of great change in crystallizing the whole of society into one of single-minded unity based on one idea with the leader as the centre. As a result, we see the completion of the scientific conception of an ideal society, a society which has been sought by many thinkers and theoreticians ever since the appearance of the theory of Utopian socialism, and thus mankind which had only a dim idea of communist society has come to have the immortal banner, a clear blueprint for building an ideal society.

## 2. Ideological Revolution and Transformation of Man

### 1) Direction of Ideological Revolution

The role of the people, the main agents of the revolution, is enhanced with social development, and unprecedentedly so in socialist society. This is because socialist society is a society being built by the creativity of the popular masses who are armed with a high degree of ideological consciousness, and who are united as one.

Kim Jong Il gave a scientific elucidation of the deep significance of the transformation of man in socialist society.

"In socialist society, the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding, becomes a more important and primary task than that of creating the material and economic conditions of socialism. Only when precedence is given to the transformation of man, will it be possible to strengthen the driving force of the revolution and increase its role, and thus build socialism successfully."

Proceeding from his view that the factor deciding victory or failure in a revolutionary movement depends upon how the main agents of the revolution are strengthened and how their role is enhanced, he stresses the truth in relation to building socialism.

When people neglect ideological remoulding and are indifferent to strengthening the main agents of the revolution and enhancing their role while pursuing only economic construction and attaching excessive impor-

lance to objective material and economic conditions in socialist society, they can neither build socialism well nor carry out economic construction properly, he stressed.

He, therefore, regarded transformation of man strengthening the main agents of the revolution in charge of socialist construction and enhancing their role as the key question and has made every possible effort in this respect.

Transformation of man in socialist society is the task of the continuing revolution so that the members of society shall possess a high degree of ideological consciousness and the revolutionary characteristics required by a people-centred society. This is realized through ideological revolution.

Kim Jong Il said that ideological revolution is basic for the transforming of man.

Remoulding of man is, in essence, ideological remoulding. Man is a social being with ideological consciousness, and the decisive factor in human activity is ideological consciousness. Ideological consciousness, however, is not remoulded of its own accord. It is wrong to think that the ideological consciousness of the people will change with the change in the social system and in material conditions. When exploitation and oppression are abolished and material life improves, ideological education should be deepened accordingly.

Hence Kim Jong Il has pointed out that the key question decisive of victory or failure in socialist construction is how to conduct ideological education.

"Success in socialist construction and the destiny of socialism are decided by whether or not we root out selfishness and all other obsolete ideas from the minds of the people and imbue them with a communist revolutionary idea."

He set forth the famous proposition that socialist ideology is vital in socialist society whereas money is vital in capitalist society. And he said that if the working masses arm themselves with a socialist idea and unite as one on its basis, socialism will emerge victorious and if they fail a prey to an ideological malady socialism will be ruined. The superiority of socialist society over capitalist society is the very superiority of socialist ideology, and the might of socialism is no other than the might of socialist ideology. Therefore, ideological revolution can be said to be the lifeline for socialist construction. This is his unshakable view of the ideological revolution.

Hence he has established the direction for ideological revolution by clarifying its main content, pivot and structure.

He says

"The basic aspect of carrying out the ideological revolution is to equip the people firmly with the revolutionary idea of our Party, the Juche idea, and, on this basis, to achieve the firm ideological unity of the whole society."

This is the essential requirement of north Korea where the Juche idea has been established as the guiding idea of the whole of society, and it is natural that all the members of society have been equipped with the Juche idea and, on this basis, ideological unity has been achieved.

All members of society, including workers, peasants and working intellectuals, have the common aim of completely realizing the independence of the people under the people-centred socialist system of north Korea, it is possible to arm them all with the Juche idea and thus achieve unity and cohesion. And only then are the main agents of the revolution strengthened and their role enhanced, and can socialist construction advance successfully.

Kim Jong Il has made clear where emphasis should be laid in ideological revolution so as to train people to be revolutionaries of the Juche type.

"In carrying out the ideological revolution our Party lays stress on equipping the people with a revolutionary outlook on the leader, the organization and the masses and on uniting them behind the Party and the leader to make them a sociopolitical organism in which everyone shares the same fate."

If the working masses, who have become the masters of the state and society with the establishment of the socialist system, are to perform their responsibility and role as such, they should have a correspondingly high degree of ideological consciousness. In other words, they should have the ideological and mental qualities as befit true human beings, revolutionaries of the Juche type. They mean persons who find the worth of a true life in devoting themselves to the common cause for the realization of the independence of the working masses, united closely by revolutionary ethics and comradeship under the leadership of the Party and the leader.

Carrying out ideological revolution means educating all members of society to be revolutionaries of the Juche type, and is designed to consolidate the sociopolitical organism, the united body of the leader, the Party and the people.



As mentioned above, the leader is the centre of the sociopolitical organism and the supreme brain representing the will of the popular masses. The masses, therefore, should have a correct view of the leader. The relation between the leader and the popular masses is that of blood ties in the sociopolitical organism united by revolutionary thinking and comradeship. As an organic body is inconceivable apart from his brain, so the masses is unthinkable apart from the leader. The working masses, therefore, should be entirely faithful to their leader so as to consolidate the sociopolitical organism.

The Party is the pivotal organization of the sociopolitical organism. Only under the leadership of the Party can the popular masses be organizationally and ideologically linked with the leader, and thus have sociopolitical life, and become the driving force of the revolution. As for viewpoint of the organization, it means the viewpoint of and stand towards not only the Party organizations but also all the sociopolitical organizations linking the masses with the leader under the leadership of the Party.

No one can be closely linked with the leader apart from the organization and have an everlasting sociopolitical life. Only when he is organizationally linked with the leader, can man live a precious sociopolitical life and do the worthwhile work of defending independence even though he is possessed of ample knowledge and outstanding wisdom. This is because collectivism is natural to people. People can reshape nature and society and meet their needs for independence only through cooperation and not individually.

The masters of the revolution are the popular masses. The leader is their supreme brain, and the party is the pivotal unit. Consequently, only when one has the correct view that the popular masses are the masters of the revolution, that is, the view of the masses, is it possible to consolidate the sociopolitical organism and struggle for the interests of the masses.

Victory or failure of the cause of independence depends on how the creativity and wisdom of the working masses are displayed. However clever and able an individual may be, he is only possessed of a limited part of the wisdom and strength accumulated by mankind over centuries. Only the masses embody the whole historical wealth of mankind and have the creative ability to shape their own destiny by remoulding nature, society and human nature. Those who do not believe in this mighty strength of the masses are those who do not believe in their strength, and they can never work devotedly for the cause of independence.

Thus, if people are to be eternally faithful to the cause of independence as a member of the sociopolitical organism, they should have the correct view of the leader, the organization and the masses.

Kim Jong Il has said that if the revolutionary view of the leader, the organization and the masses is to be held as faith, it should be linked with the revolutionary view of morality.

Loyalty to the leader, the party and the masses must be guaranteed by morality that is based on revolutionary conscience. Only then can it really be lasting and true."

Morality means social rules which people should consciously abide by of their own accord and not by force. The revolutionary outlook on morality is the viewpoint and stand towards the rules of action based on revolutionary conscience.

Revolutionary conscience is the social consciousness that the life of the sociopolitical collective body is of more value than the life of an individual, and that the interests of the Party, the masses and the revolution are of more value than the life of an individual.

Along with this, to be faithful to the leader, the party and the masses is the unbreakable moral obligation for revolutionaries of the Juche type, and this derives from the basic interests of the revolution.

These concepts boil down to the fact that only when the people are possessed of the lofty revolutionary view of morality can they support the leader, the centre of the sociopolitical organism, with their conscience and ethics. Revolutionaries of Juche type, therefore, should regard the revolutionary outlook on morality as noble ethics and not as obligatory.

Kim Jong Il defined the structure of ideological revolution as an integrated whole of ideological education and ideological struggle and said that stress should be given to ideological education in accordance with the nature of socialist society.

Essentially ideological revolution can be said to be the process of achieving ideological unity of all the people through remoulding them ideologically, mentally and morally by instilling in them the revolutionary ideas of the working class. Ideological revolution, therefore, comprises ideological education to arm the people with the revolutionary ideas of the working class and the ideological struggle against non-working class ideology.

It is his view that ideological education and ideological struggle should be carried on simultaneously, and that more weight should be laid on ide-

logical education in socialist society all of whose members cooperate with each other as comrades having a common aim and interests, unlike the situation in capitalist society. This view of his emanates from his intelligent analysis of socialist society and from his love of and trust in the people.

He has defined ideological education in north Korea as education in the Juche idea, and education in the Juche idea as ideological education to train revolutionaries of the Juche type.

The Juche idea is perfect revolutionary thinking which enables people to remould nature, society and themselves to suit the social nature of human beings who want to live and develop independently, makes them full-fledged masters of the world and of their own destiny and shows the way to eternal happiness and prosperity for mankind.

The remoulding of man begins when the popular masses rid themselves of the ideologies opposed to the trends of history and the times, and accept the new man-centred ideology. In other words, only when education in the Juche idea is conducted successfully can people be equipped with the ideological and moral qualities essential for people of the Juche type and work devotedly for the cause of independence.

Education in the Juche idea comprises different forms of ideological education to make people of the Juche type.

Kim Jong Il put forward the need to conduct all manners of ideological education, including education in fidelity, in close conjunction with the basic principles of the Juche idea.

Thus the problems of class consciousness and socialist patriotism are cleared up on the basis of the basic principles of the Juche idea.

All kinds of education, including class education, education in main agents of the revolution, enhance their role only when they are underlain with the principles of the Juche idea.

In order to carry on ideological revolution successfully it is required that ideological education be combined with ideological struggle.

The aim of ideological struggle is to make people men and women of the Juche type by overcoming outdated ideas left over from the old society through criticism.

Even though they live in socialist society, people retain entrenched outdated ideas left over from the past and the old society. It is difficult to overcome such ideas by education alone, and they may revive after being criticized once or twice. The ideology of people cannot be reformed successful-

ly unless ideological struggle against outdated ideologies is ceaseless and

The target of ideological struggle in north Korea, above all, is individualism and selfishness.

Individualism and selfishness which are ideologies of the exploiting class are denounced as the ideas which hinder people from being united and in thought and purpose and corrode the advanced socialist system. Therefore, emphasis in ideological struggle is laid on abolishing the individualism and selfishness cropping up among people, and this is the way to overcome all kinds of outdated ideologies.

Other main targets of ideological struggle are flunkeyism and dogmatism.

Flunkeyism is slavishly serving and worshipping big and developed countries and leads to national nihilism, i.e. denigrating one's own country and nation and humbling oneself before others. Dogmatism is the stereotyped way of thinking of following others blindly without consideration of the specific and actual conditions.

Flunkeyism and dogmatism which are opposed to the Juche idea are ideological venom that paralyzes independence and creativity. Another evil is that they are the ideological medium bringing in all kinds of harmful ideologies from outside and spreading them.

Only when flunkeyism and dogmatism are fully eliminated through ideological education and ideological struggle, is it possible to establish the unity of the nation and build socialism in one's own way.

As the above-mentioned brief account shows, Kim Jong Il has provided for the first time a clear blueprint for the transforming of man and for training the new type man and woman by establishing scientifically the direction for ideological revolution. This is an immortal contribution of great historic significance for building man-centred socialism successfully, by carrying on ideological revolution along the right course to the high stage of social development of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea.

## 2) Appropriate Prescription for Remoulding of Human Nature

The cause of remoulding human nature for the complete victory of

socialism can be successful only when the proper prescription is made clear with the direction of the ideological revolution.

The respected Kim Jong Il has scientifically worked out the principled way for remoulding human nature in socialist society, which differs from established theories and experience. The proper prescription for training men and women of the Juche type is, first, to carry out ideological remoulding through ideological education, organizational life and revolutionary practice; secondly, to train new-type men and women through positive examples in conformity with the nature and the laws governing the development of socialist society free from exploitation and oppression; thirdly, to conduct ideological education and ideological struggle according to class character and social stratum.

The main way to train men and women of the Juche type is through ideological education, organizational life and practice.

Above all, ideological education should be strengthened.

Importance should be attached to ideological education, education in the Juche idea, in training new-type people, people filled with humanity, because the Juche idea, generally called "the man-centred philosophy" is the philosophy of the absolute trust in and love of the people, and hence is the mightiest instrument for human remoulding. On the other hand, in the light of the fact that human remoulding is carried on in the course of acute struggle against all manner of anti-historic ideologies, it is through education in the Juche idea that people are educated in the new man-centred ideology which can overcome idealism and matter-centred doctrines.

The WPK, therefore, regards it as its basic task to establish the world outlook of the masses by strengthening education in the principles of the Juche idea in ideological education. At the same time, education in loyalty to the leader is conducted on a high plane, while paying attention to revolutionary education and class education.

In particular, the WPK is carrying out its policy so that the solid foundation of ideological education of the people is laid for education in loyalty to the leader and the motherland and in filial piety.

I am convinced that it by no means implies restorationism when today the WPK exalts the idea of fidelity and filial duty to President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il and strengthens education in loyalty and filial piety.

The bitter grief and feelings of intense reverence all the north Korean people manifested at the lamentable death of President Kim Il Sung demon-

strated how loyal and devoted they were to him, the benevolent father. Needless to say, education in fidelity and filial duty to the leader and the motherland is not practicable in every society. Nevertheless, the instance of North Korea, where education in loyalty and filial piety is carried on successfully indicates a shorter way to remould members of society to become praiseworthy new-type men and women full of humanity, people of the Juche type. This is because the great leader, the outstanding leader, is a dragon of the Juche type.

Kim Jong Il has found the way to train people of the Juche type through ideological education and through the revolutionary organizational life of people.

"People can become communist revolutionaries when they season themselves ceaselessly through revolutionary organizational life," he said.

The human being, a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness, is naturally gregarious. Man establishes his world outlook through the collective and through organizational life.

In the light of the fact that remoulding of man is remoulding of his thinking, through constant contacts with the mass people are remoulded ideologically, mentally, morally and ethically constantly in an organized way. This means that the remoulding of the people is carried out through the organization. The organization unites the masses and makes them recognize their position in the world and thus guarantees ideological remould-

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Organizational life is political activity of those who, belonging to an organization, carry out the tasks given by the organization and under its leadership and control. The north Korean people lead an organizational life. Party members in the Party organization, young people and children in the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea and in the Children's Union respectively, the working people in the Trade Unions and in the Union of Agricultural Working People and women in the Women's Union. The masters of a sociopolitical organization are its members themselves. Only when they take part in organizational life as befit the masters can they ceaselessly enhance fidelity to the leader, consciousness of and responsibility for the revolution and devotion to the masses, and foster the traits of always acting according to the will and rules of the organization. They can cultivate themselves and form their personality with the help of comradely criticism in the course of display of collectivism and comradeship.



Thus all members of socialist society are constantly educated and revolutionized through organizational life. That is why the north Koreans call organizational life the school for revolutionary education.

Considering revolutionary activity as a great lever for bringing up people to be people of the Juche type, along with ideological education and organizational life, Kim Jong Il stresses its significance.

"The revolutionary practice is of a great significance in remoulding the ideological consciousness of people and in promoting their revolutionization and working-classization."

Revolutionary practice is a powerful means for remoulding ideological consciousness. In the course of practice the ideology of the people is tested and seasoned, and their will is hardened in practice.

The main forms of revolutionary practice are productive labour and the reform movement. People continuously steel their ideology and reform themselves in a revolutionary manner through productive labour, and in the social reform movement.

Thus they grow up to be people of the Juche type with lofty qualities and a lofty character. And then, the remoulding of the people is completed.

For example, the struggle for the country's reunification, the cherished desire of the nation, is a practical just struggle against the manoeuvres of the partitionists at home and abroad. In the course of this struggle the masses grow up to be revolutionaries of the Juche type by enhancing the idea of loving one's country, nation and people and by enhancing their revolutionary consciousness.

Kim Jong Il proposed influencing people by positive examples as the main method for transforming people in socialist society.

"Influencing people by positive examples is an effective method of educating them. The affirmative is the progressive and beautiful things that meet the demands of people for independence, so they exert a great influence on people. Support for the affirmative is a criticism of the negative, and shows people the ways of overcoming the negative."

Influencing people by positive examples involves encouraging and promoting positive examples and overcoming negative phenomena by positive examples. It is the method of education by which prominence is given to positive examples which people are induced to emulate to arouse their revolutionary zeal and creativity.

He regards this as a method of education which suits the nature of the people-centred socialist society and as the main method for remoulding the people.

This is because positive, beautiful and lofty practices prevail as social norms in socialist society where the masses have become the masters.

Unlike in capitalist society where "bad money drives out good" in the people-centred socialist society free from exploitation and oppression, injustice and corruption, people help and lead one another forward on the basis of revolutionary ethics and comradeship. They live harmoniously and work conscientiously and strive for things beautiful, good and pure. As a result, good deeds are always being done, and these arouse sympathy and response among broad sections of the masses, with the result that social development is accelerated.

This is also because positive examples become sharp criticism of negative phenomena, and strength overcoming negative phenomena.

Positive examples stir up beautiful sentiments worthy of man and become life's ideal.

In north Korea where all the people are united in one sociopolitical organism, the social trend of all classes cooperating with each other in a comradely manner prevails. Positive examples are seen all the time and are being emulated throughout society.

Kim Jong Il developed in depth a mass movement for emulating good examples by the seasoned method of guidance by which models set at one place are publicized to be emulated across the whole country thus the remoulding of the entire people is pushed forward energetically.

He initiated the movement for emulating "unassuming heroes" which has been of great significance in producing people of the Juche type.

The "unassuming hero" means a pure person, a "model of the Juche type" who fulfills his or her duty and responsibility as a master of the revolution without caring for recognition.

On the initiative of Kim Jong Il and under his energetic guidance the "movement for emulating unassuming heroes" is spreading like a prairie fire in north Korea. As a result, broad sections of the people are producing countless "unassuming heroes" who perform their duty as a matter of course as befits masters, not for their own interests, nor for personal fame and a successful career but out of fidelity to the leader and to the cause of independence, the motherland and the people and out of patriotism.

With the growing influence of positive examples, a great change has been brought about in the ideological and mental traits of the people, and the work of man-remoulding has advanced greatly.

He has seen to it that all members of society are armed with the Juche idea to suit their characteristic features.

He has ideological education conducted to suit the special characteristics of the working class.

The working class is the pioneer and paragon in educating, remoulding and revolutionizing all its members and arming them with the Juche idea. Viewed from the standpoint of class relations, the course of building socialism and communism is the course which the working class, that has seized power, pursues in remoulding society, including all spheres of the economy, culture, ideology and morality, on their own. That is the process of modelling it on the working class. Hence only when the working class is revolutionized, can the whole of society be successfully modelled on the Juche idea.

He sees to it that ideological preparedness, the sense of organization and the revolutionary spirit of the working class are pushed forward by intensifying ideological education and organizational life among the workers and is putting the main effort into training organizationally and ideologically the workers of the rising generation who have not experienced exploitation and oppression, so as to bring them to class awakening, in order that the working class fulfil its mission and role as the guiding class. At the same time he promotes the revolutionization of the working class by making the workers play the pioneering role in socialist construction.

He has made efforts to educate and remould the peasants.

The peasants are one of the main detachments in socialist construction. Only when they are educated and remoulded and thus closely united around the leader, can the main agents of revolution be strengthened and the cause of Juche be successful. They retain remnants of outdated ideas, including the small owner mentality and individual selfishness because they lived within the bounds of the private economy for a long time and, in most cases, worked individually even after they were embraced in the collective economy. In the light of these circumstances, he sees to it that revolutionary and class education and education in the Juche idea are conducted effectively to accelerate their ideological remoulding. He has paid particular attention to revolutionizing the working intellectuals. They constitute a component part of the main agents of revolution and play a big role in remoulding and developing nature and society because of their knowledge and technology. Without their creative role socialism cannot be built successfully. But only when they ceaselessly revolutionize themselves under

the leadership of the Party, can they enhance their role in socialist construction.

Working intellectuals are liable to be infected with bourgeois individualism, because most of them work individually and are divorced from productive labour.

Kim Jong Il pays close attention so that intellectuals revolutionize and working-classize themselves ceaselessly through organizational life and practical struggle. He has trained new intellectuals on a large scale, while educating and remoulding old-time intellectuals, and has led all intellectuals to be utterly faithful to the Party and the revolution. As a result, the problem of the dual character of intellectuals has been solved, and the old-time as well as the new intellectuals serve the Party, the revolution, the motherland and the masses by giving full play to their talents and zeal.

The future of a country depends on how its youth is brought up. The lessons of the collapse of socialism in the former USSR and Eastern European socialist countries show that if ideological education of the youth is neglected they may become a source of trouble, influenced as they can be by bourgeois ideology, and the gains of revolution the elder generation won at the cost of their blood may be endangered.

Kim Jong Il has led the organizations of the LSWY and the Children's Union to strengthen revolutionary education so as to bring up the rising generation to be people possessed of sound ideological consciousness and good moral traits. As a result, the movement for learning from the glorious boyhood of Generalissimo Kim Il Sung is wide-spread, and visits to the historic Mangyongdae and tours such as the "1,000-ri journey for learning", and the "1,000-ri journey for national liberation" are arranged and organized as a regular event. He has wisely led vigorous youth to volunteer to undertake hard and difficult work in socialist economic construction and do their part to uphold the honour of the vanguard and the shock brigades in the worthwhile struggle for the prosperity of the motherland.

### 3) A Large Contingent of New Men and Women of the Juche Type

Looking back over human history we see that people have made efforts for centuries to seek the true life and the perfection of the personality. Peo-

ple in feudal society of the Middle Ages made frantic efforts to free themselves from the fetters of religion and the caste system, whereas people in modern society, capitalist society, are endeavouring to break the iron chains of capital and regain themselves. In this sense, human history is the history of the struggle for independence, the life and soul of human beings, and at the same time, it is the history of the struggle for the discovery of man and the perfection of personality.

The "image of man in the 2000s" among other opinions was offered in reply to the question what is new-type man like. They were fragmentary or one-sided remarks or descriptions of hopes for qualities because they were not based on a scientific analysis of human nature.

The correct answer to the question of the image of the new-type man was given by Kim Jong Il.

"The man of Juche type is the example of human being who personifies the most beautiful and noble ideal."

Men of the Juche type are those who make the Juche idea their world outlook and who show a higher degree of independence and creativity in thinking and practice than anyone in any age ever did in human history. They are men of noble ethics who regard fidelity to the Party and the leader as their life and soul and devotedly work for society and the collective.

The prototypes of the Juche-type man the north Korean people take as their ideal are the young communists who regarded General Kim Il Sung as the sun of the nation in the 1920s. Their main qualities consisted of the beautiful and noble ideal represented by the idea of "Comrade Han Byol", pure conscientious fidelity to the revolution and the leader, and revolutionary comradeship and ethics. The core of their ideological and mental traits was the crystal-clear and ardent loyalty to their leader.

"Let's not forget our pledge to the revolution. You are Kim Hyok and I am Song Ju" and "Even if I fall and can no longer make revolution I will not leave your side even in death."

These are the passages from the north Korean film *Star of Korea* which portrays well the human image of the young communists of the '20s. As can be seen from the dialogue the comradely relations of complete unity between the leader and his revolutionary soldiers which do not know the slightest discrimination, and the revolutionary ethics with which the young communists ardently support their leader constitute their philosophy.

Kim Jong Il has directed the movement for ideological remoulding with men and on man-remoulding to make the people the Juche-type men and women under the slogan of "Let us become the Kim Hyoks and Cha Kwangs of the '80s."<sup>4</sup>

- 1 In the late 1920s the young communists met the leader of revolution and called him Han Byol, instead of his original name Kim Song Ju, hoping that he would become a morning star leading the Korean people to liberation. Later they renamed him Kim Il Sung wishing him to become the nation's sun.
- 2 From July 1930 on he was a commanding officer of the Korean Revolutionary Army in a revolutionary post. He died in prison on August 23, 1930.
- 3 The original name of President Kim Il Sung.
- 4 In July 1930 Cha Kwang Su was a commanding officer of the Korean Revolutionary Army and then of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army. He fell in action on October 31, 1932.

Today the north Korean people whole-heartedly hold their leader in high esteem and are firmly determined to defend Kim Jong Il politically and ideologically through any storm and ordeal at the cost of their lives. They are exerting themselves in the belief that there is nothing in the world they cannot do and that certainly they will emerge victorious when they follow his leadership.

Thus anti-Juche, anti-human ideologies, such as stonkeyism, dogmatism, national nihilism and revisionism are successfully banished, and national pride and the sense of independence are considerably heightened among the masses.

A change has taken place, socialist collectivism is driving out capitalist individualism as regards values and the mental world, the view of life and

The members of the WPK and the working people are the new-type men and women who give up small things for the great cause, devotedly work for others and sacrifice themselves to make others happy.

In the summer of 1991, Mun Jong Sop, captain of a fishing fleet of a fishery station in Unjon County, North Phyongan Province, jumped into a river to rescue his daughter. Having swum for a while, he saw a girl suddenly emerging from the water in front of him.

She was his neighbour's daughter. Two children were floundering in the water. Whom to rescue first? he thought as he grasped his neighbour's girl first rather than his own daughter and swam towards the shore.



He got her to the shore and jumped again into the river but his daughter was nowhere to be seen. After some time he found his daughter, but she was dead. If the father of the neighbour's daughter had jumped into the river, he would have rescued the captain's girl first.

A nurse in the People's Hospital of Kosan County, Kangwon Province, gave seven litres of her blood to patients forty times during her over thirty years service, that is, an amount greater than that in the human body. She committed her children to the care of her parents and took charge of more than ten children of patients in serious condition and of patients who had died, and brought them up. A worker aged 34 in the engineering workshop of the Kangso District Coal Mining Complex in Nampho City took 18 orphans home and brought them up with his own two children. A girl pumper at the Sihung Coal Mining Construction Company, in South Hamgyong Province, threw herself against a coal truck running down a steep slope to rescue her comrades. Their good deeds and self-sacrifice aroused great admiration.

The nobility of the north Korean people whose morality and ethics are to think of the collective and their comrades first before themselves and devotedly work for others is the outcome of ideological revolution, the policy of remoulding put forward by Kim Jong Il.

In particular the rising generation are learning from and emulating the loyalty to the leader and the devotion to the motherland shown by the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters whom they call the first generation of the revolution and shown by the fighters in the Fatherland Liberation War, the second generation of the revolution, and also by builders in the period of postwar construction.

When the WPK calls on the youth to develop coherency and mines, build power stations and railways, reclaim tideland and do other heavy work on construction sites, they don't hesitate to go there, without caring for whether they are in city or countryside, or whether the work is hard or easy. They give up the admission notices to university for papers of dispatch to a construction site and take the train bound for the site. They regard it as the pride of youth to render distinguished service. Like this, the laudable deeds of the youth and working people are not prompted by impulse or excitement of the moment but arise from faith based on their Juche-oriented world outlook. They usually do these splendid deeds naturally just as the spring water gushes out of the ground, not because they expect to be repaid.

The north Korean people, no matter what their workplace or position, no matter what work they do, exhibit the fine communist traits of working honestly and conscientiously for the sake of the revolution, society and the collective, not for individual honour and reward, and without caring for recognition. This shows that people of the age of Kim Jong Il, so to speak, are being formed.

On December 1, 1993, the National Meeting of Models of Communist Virtue was held in Pyongyang. Kim Jong Il highly appreciated fine models of communist virtue among the masses, and proposed to hold a meeting of pioneers to publicize them on a nation-wide scale. It was a meeting which could be held only in the people-centred socialist society of north Korea where remoulding of man is being successfully put into practice on a high plane.

The meetings of models of communist virtue held simultaneously in Pyongyang and the provinces, in cities and counties served as a bugle call heralding the victory of human remoulding, the human revolution started by Kim Jong Il. These models are a legendary contingent whom he has brought up with love and the revolutionary world outlook of the Juche.

A radical change has taken place in the ideological and mental life of the north Korean people since he energetically pushed ahead with ideological revolution. As a result, the mentality of the people has reached a high plane not known in any other country in the world. A European public figure said, "The mentality of the north Korean people is in perfectly germ-free condition, and the leader and the people constitute a closely united crystal." But he is not alone in admiring the mentality of the north Korean people who are firmly armed with one ideology, the Juche idea.

Through their practice and experience in revolution and construction the north Korean people have come to entertain a firm belief that serving the supreme leader with loyalty and following him is the only way for developing the motherland and for prosperity of the nation, and thus they entirely entrust their destiny to him.

As all people promote self-culture to become true Juche-type men and women, the single-minded unity of the whole of society, with the leader as the centre, is consolidated.

This is the shining achievement of the respected Kim Jong Il in human

remoulding. New-type men and women are constantly being produced under his guidance.

The new Juche-type man shows the image of man in the ideal society and the formation of the new Juche-type man is a notable achievement which indicates the way to save mankind from human weaknesses and provides an historic guide line.

Kim Jong Il is the personification of the noble spirit of mankind and the initiator of human revolution.

### 3. Technical Revolution and Socialist Economic Construction

Over forty years of US economic blockade against north Korea firm shows proof of solid independence and the strength of the north Korean economy. On the threshold of the '90s, the socialist market broke down, and the United States intensified the operation to strangle north Korea by breaking the economic relations of north Korea with the capitalist market. Nevertheless, the north Korean economy advanced steadily.

During north Korea's Third Seven-Year Plan period from 1987 to 1993, industrial production increased 1.5 times and the yearly growth rate of industry was 5.6%. Where then lies the secret of this success? In brief, it lies in the successful implementation of the technical revolution proceeding from the spirit of self-reliance peculiar to north Korea, and in the policy of building an independent national economy which is based on it.

Kim Jong Il has made clear that technical revolution under socialism is the basic way to free workers from hard and heavy labour and to build and develop independent socialist national economy in line with the demand of the popular masses for independence. In this way he consolidates independent economy based on modern technology and advances socialist economic construction.

Kim Jong Il is praised as a genius in economic construction who has achieved a turn in the material wealth and labour of the working masses by

accelerating the technical revolution and socialist economic construction, proceeding from the Juche stand

#### 1) The Blueprint for Economic Construction

The respected Kim Jong Il put forth the blueprint for socialist economic construction to suit the demands of the new stage of socialist economic construction.

"By pushing forward the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientific management of the national economy holding on fast to the line of building the independent national economy, we must further strengthen the independence and Juche character of the national economy, continue to modernize technical equipment and put all productive and management activities on a scientific basis."

The general direction for implementing this blueprint is firmly to adhere to the line of independent economic construction, and its main substance is to make the economy Juche-oriented, modernized and scientific.

What then is the content of independent economic construction? Kim Jong Il said:

"Building an independent national economy means building an economy which is free from dependence on others and which stands on its own feet, an economy which serves one's own people and develops on the strength of the resources of one's own country and by the efforts of one's own people."

He has always stressed the two aspects of independence of the state. One is to make tremendous efforts to safeguard political independence and reunify the divided country, in the situation where it is surrounded by great powers and where the US has occupied south Korea. The other is to strive not to be subordinated to or dominated by other countries economically. It is understood that these aspects manifest themselves in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance in ideology and mentality and are expressed as the line of independent economic construction in economic policy.

When you go to the General Bureau of Ryongsong Machine Complex in the Hamhung area called the "mother factory", the words "self-reliance" engraved on the three 3,000-ton press attract attention. The spirit of self-reliance to carry out to the end the revolution in one's country by relying on

oneself and to develop the economy and life by oneself. This is the teaching of Kim Jong Il and the motto which has become the firm belief of the north Korean masses in their work and life.

It is self-reliance to exploit one's resources actively and complete economic structure with one's own technology on the principle of finding out what is lacking and making what does not exist, and to carry out the given economic task in the spirit that it is good when the upper level helps, but one solves one's problems by oneself when the upper level fails to do so.

Kim Jong Il published his classic work *Let's Complete the Second Seven-Year Plan Ahead of Schedule by Arousing the Whole Party and the Whole People under the Revolutionary Slogan of Self-Reliance* in January 1978, the first year of the Second Seven-Year Plan, and has showed the entire working masses the way to reach the targets set in the new plan with a high degree of revolutionary zeal and persistent combat spirit.

As a result, the people firmly established the attitude and viewpoint of developing the socialist independent economy based on their own strength and technology and the resources of their own country, and the persistent combat spirit to overcome bravely all hardships and difficulties was displayed to the full.

Kim Jong Il has stressed self-reliance as the basic spirit and the basic principle of socialist economic construction. It is the revolutionary spirit with which the people have built the Korea of today on the ruins of the Korean war. It is his determination and will to develop an independent economy by self-reliance and thus reach the ideal society. Self-reliance based on belief in one's own strength is the one of the merits of the north Korean people educated by the supreme leader.

By adhering to the principle of self-reliance, north Korea actively exploits the resources of the country with her own strength and technology and completes economic structure, and thus successfully makes the economy Juche-oriented, modernized and scientific.

He proposed a formula for independent economic construction, laying down four essentials which should be adhered to in building an independent economy.

The first is to adhere to the principle of self-reliance in economic construction. Seen from north Korea's point of view, the economy is essentially a human concern, therefore success or failure depends on the ideas and mentality of the people who build and manage the economy. Therefore,

adherence to the spirit and principle of self-reliance is posed as the foremost question in building an independent economy. The second essential is to develop the economy in a many-sided manner and comprehensively. It needs no further explanation that this is essential for guaranteeing the independence of the economy and for satisfying the various demands of the people. The third essential is to equip the economy with up-to-date technology and train the native technicians on a large scale. Modern industry is technical industry. It is difficult to avoid economic dependency without independence and originality in technology. Therefore, the economy should be based on modern technology, and the need for technicians to manage it should be met domestically. The fourth essential is solidly to build up one's own bases of raw materials and fuel. Self-sufficiency in raw materials is an important factor for economic independence. More weight is attached to this question today because the imperialists are using materials and fuels as an instrument to dominate the world economy.

In brief, only when an independent economy based on modern technology is built, is it possible to guarantee independence and creativity for the people in their work and provide them with an ample material life and to realize independence in politics and self-defence in national defence.

Kim Jong Il considers that the strategic line to be adhered to in the building of socialism and communism is to make the economy Juche-oriented, modernized and scientific.

To make the economy Juche-oriented means to build and develop the economy depending on the resources of one's own country and one's own technology in conformity with the specific conditions of one's own country. Modernizing the economy means improving technical equipment by replacing the backward technology with up-to-date equipment. Making economy scientific implies developing science and technology and placing production and management in all branches of the economy on a new, scientific basis.

In order to make the economy Juche-orientated he proposed solving the problem of raw materials and fuels by depending on one's own resources, and founding new branches of industry and replenishing and completing the production processes on the basis of modern technology, and introducing machinery automation, remote control, robots and computers in the production processes, and comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization in farming to modernize the economy. At the same time, he said that to



make the economy scientific, production processes and management in all branches of the economy should be put on a new scientific basis.

Three principles should be adhered to in order to make the economy Juche-oriented, modernized and scientific. The first is to give full play to the revolutionary spirit of self reliance, the second, to continue to push forward energetically with the technical revolution and the third, to make effective use of the economic base.

A firm guarantee for strengthening the independent economy and for the prosperity of the country lies in making the economy Juche-oriented, modernized and scientific.

Kim Jong Il has always stressed the need to firmly adhere to the Juche-oriented system of economic management in putting into practice the blueprint for socialist economic construction. He considers the "Taean Work System", the Juche-oriented system of economic management, the main key for managing the socialist economy smoothly and for giving full play to its vitality, and as the lifeline of socialist economic construction.

The Taean Work System created by President Kim Il Sung is defined as the economic management system of Juche whereby the economy in one unit is managed scientifically and rationally by implementing the mass line under the collective leadership of its Party committee.

The essence of the Taean Work System, called the communist management system of enterprises in north Korea, is to let all the members of an enterprise from management staff to production workers take part in economic management. Hence the essence of the Taean Work System is to put the mass line into practice. In brief, economic management is regarded as a human question. First is the collective leadership of the Party committee, second, giving priority to political work among the people; third, for the upper level to help the lower; fourth, to strengthen general and technical guidance over production; fifth, to establish a system whereby the upper level supplies materials to the lower; and sixth, to improve logistics. This means that man is the main factor in the Taean Work System. In other words, the economy is regarded as a matter of people. It is natural and essential to manage the economy and enterprises by centring on people. Since in north Korea the Juche philosophy "the master of everything is people and people also decide everything" prevails in all spheres of society, including the political philosophy, enterprise ethics and cultural life.

When the Taean Work System is thoroughly implemented in the eco-

nomic management of enterprises, bureaucracy is successfully overcome and democracy is guaranteed to the full.

The system of economic management suited to socialism was not properly established, and capitalist management methods were introduced in the former Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and this resulted in the collapse of socialism and the revival of the capitalist economic system. In the light of this serious lesson, the correctness of Kim Jong Il's theory that the communist economic management system of the north Korean style should be adhered to and thoroughly applied becomes clearer.

The insight and intelligence of Kim Jong Il are well manifested in his guidance over economic construction.

He sees to it that the economic organs of the state intensify economic and technical guidance when the political leadership of the Party is firmly guaranteed so that the socialist economic management system be correctly continued.

Guaranteeing Party leadership in economic management means that the Party organizations point the correct way for the fulfilment of economic tasks and arouse the working masses through political work to carry out economic tasks. Only then is it possible to give full play to the consciousness of the working masses as masters, the driving force of economic growth, and their creativity in economic activities to overcome right and left deviations in economic management, and defend and develop the economic system based on collectivism.

Next, in order that the Taean Work System is thoroughly maintained, he sees to it that democracy and creativity are secured at the lower levels, and that unified guidance over the economy is strictly guaranteed, while attaching importance to strengthening the central guidance of the state over the economy as a whole.

To guarantee the monolithic economic guidance of the state is essential for socialist economic management. This is because, unlike the capitalist market economy, the socialist planned economy is successfully managed only when it is based on the law of the planned and balanced development of the economy. Only when the economy is managed in unified manner under the unified and planned guidance of the state, can manpower and raw materials be used rationally, and production and distribution, accumulation and expenditures be realized according to plan, and thus the socialist enlarged reproduction be effected on a high level.

It is a lesson of history that when unified and planned guidance over the economy is given up, the capitalist market economy is introduced and thus socialism collapses.

Next, Kim Jong Il has seen that the principle of correctly combining material stimulus with political and moral stimuli, with priority given to the political and moral, is thoroughly observed so as to maintain and develop economic management by keeping up the Tacan Work System.

In north Korea, the problem of correctly combining the material stimulus with political and moral stimuli, with the emphasis laid on the latter, is strictly dealt with in the management of the socialist society. This is because the fundamental peculiarity of socialist society with its communist and transitional characteristics is its communist character. Therefore priority should be given to political work, and material stimulus should be combined with this, with the emphasis laid on the political and moral stimuli, in order that all the working people work willingly for the sake of society and the collective and have a proprietary attitude towards production.

It does not do to neglect the ideological education of the working people or weaken the political and moral stimuli or slight the material stimulus, while stressing ideology unilaterally. Kim Jong Il has warned that when the political and moral stimuli are slighted, selfishness will be fostered among the people, with the result that the socialist economy will degenerate into the capitalist one.

To spur on the working masses with money mainly on the basis of material reward goes against the nature of socialist society. It is the capitalist method.

Those advocating reform and the open door who did away with socialism in the former Soviet Union and socialist countries of Eastern Europe regarded people as a commodity, with labour force, and adhered to material stimulus only. This was the capitalist viewpoint and attitude and it eventually brought about the misfortune of the revival of capitalism in those countries.

Today the economy of north Korea is making steady progress along its own way without right or Left deviation, holding fast to the right direction, following the economic line of Kim Jong Il.

In the '80s, the north Korean economy, which had grown rapidly after the postwar rehabilitation, made rapid strides not known before in the world. But at the threshold of the '90s, great national tasks and big external

difficulties faced the north Korean economy, which had been a model of economic development for the new-emerging industrial countries. Domestically, the livelihood of the people should be radically improved as the strategic target of the complete victory of socialism was near at hand, and, externally the collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and the capitalist countries of Eastern Europe and the economic blockade by imperialism on the so-called 'nuclear' pretext stood in the way of the economy of north Korea.

Recognizing the aggravated economic blockade by the allied forces of the imperialists and the new situation it created in the early '90s, Kim Jong Il proposed a revolutionary economic strategy. This envisaged an adjustment period of three years, and it was set forth at the 21st Plenary Meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the WPK held in December 1991.

The revolutionary economic strategy was to implement agriculture-first policy, light industry-first policy and trade-first policy for several years to come. Along with this, it envisages giving precedence to the coal and electric power industries and to railway transport, the vanguards of the economy, while continuing to develop the metallurgical industry. It envisages decisively improving the livelihood of the north Korean people, normalizing production in all branches of the economy and making a maximum use of the latent created economic potential in two or three years' time.

The economic strategy is aimed at strengthening independence of the economy relying on its own efforts while overcoming unfavourable external conditions.

At the same time, it is aimed at preparing the launching positions for achieving higher goals in all branches of the economy in the future.

The economic strategy reflects the actual requirements of socialist construction and the desires of the working people.

It is his firm determination to build in near future the welfare state, which is summed up as "to live in a tile-roofed house, eat boiled white rice and meat soup and wear silk."

The economic strategy is a positive flexible one to counter the unprecipitated intensified pressure and economic blockade schemes of the imperialists, and it is highly appraised as an effective economic strategy for hitting three birds with one stone.

Kim Jong Il is energetically pushing ahead with the economic strategy

with the conviction that as long as there is seasoned leadership of the WPK, the inexhaustible strength of the working people united single-mindedly and the powerful socialist independent economic foundation, and if full play is given to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, there are no difficulties which cannot be overcome nor fortresses which cannot be occupied.

## 2) The Path of Mass Movement

A leader should not only foresee the future, but illuminate the road ahead while leading the masses. A wise leader throws light on the right road in administering affairs of state, puts forward a slogan to be a banner and initiates a movement. Only then can the desired success be achieved.

The leader Kim Jong Il teaches: "Let's live our own way!"—this is precisely the strategic slogan which our Party has put forward at present.

He consistently puts into practice the slogan "Let's live our own way" as a strategy for the socialist economic construction. Building the economy in "our own way" means solving all problems arising in socialist economic construction by one's own efforts, in accordance with the demands and interests of one's people as required by the Juche idea.

He carries out the technical revolution in the Korean style.

The technical revolution and socialist economic construction in north Korea which are being carried out by Kim Jong Il are precisely questions involving people.

His original idea of a people-centred technical revolution has been embodied in the modernization of the Komdok Mine in South Hamgyong Province, one of the biggest lead and zinc mines in the world. At the time of the "70 days campaign" in 1974, the miners at this mine had thrown themselves into their work, sleeping at working face with the intention of producing more ore, because board and lodging conditions at the pit were no different from those on the ground. Learning of this, Kim Jong Il showed concern over the fact that miners were sleeping in the pit. He said:

"We should not let the miners sleep in the pit... We must take care of them."

Later, on July 1, 1975, he visited the Komdok Mine. Going down to the working face himself, he solved the problem of ore transportation which

was a big headache in the mine, by taking steps to introduce belt conveyors. He took measures to strengthen the guidance system for the pits which are the basic production unit of the mine and to build an ore-dressing plant of world standard with an output capacity of ten million tons.

The amazing modernization of the Komdok Mine derived from the care of Kim Jong Il who values man more than ore and goes down to the working face which is thousands of feet deep to see the miners. His noble view of man is not sentimental but is creative. This is proved by the rapid increase in production.

In building the economy in "our own way", he leads the entire people in socialist economic construction under the slogan "Let us heighten the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance!"

Kim Jong Il, a genius of economic construction, has taken steps to give full play to the mass heroism of the working people in implementing the policy of building an independent economy.

Mass movement is a powerful way of mobilizing the people. The "Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement" initiated and led by Kim Jong Il, is of great significance as a mass movement for socialist economic construction.

It is a mass movement which sets as its target mobilizing the whole of society on the Juche idea, the highest programme of the WPK, transforms people into men and women of the Juche type and transforms all fields of social life, including the economy and culture, as required by Juche.

He chose the Komdok Mine in the field of industry and Chongsang in agriculture to start this movement and took steps to convert the movement into a movement for the masses themselves. The conference of Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement pioneers held in Pyongyang in November, 1986, was of great significance.

Besides this, he took measures to launch a mass technical innovation movement, the "Scientists and technicians' shock brigade movement", aimed at solving technical problems in different branches of the economy.

The working people are the masters of science and technology and promoters of their development in socialist society.

The mass technical innovation movement is a powerful movement which actively promotes the development of science and technology and encourages scientists, technicians and producers to take an active part in the



plan to develop and apply science and technology and to strengthen their ties and cooperation in production.

The technical innovation pioneers' movement initiated by Kim Jong Il started with the dispatch of a scientists' and technicians' group in September, 1975, to the Komdok Mining Complex to make it a model of the three revolutions and a modern nonferrous metal production centre. After that, shock brigades of scientists and technicians were dispatched to the Anju Area Coal Mining Complex in South Phyongan Province, the Kim Chaek Iron and Steel Complex in North Hamgyong Province and other economically important enterprises in north Korea, and they are playing an active role in various branches of the economy. In the year 1980, "April 15 Technical Innovation Shock Brigades" comprising about 80,000 scientists and technicians were formed in some 6,000 factories and enterprises and achieved remarkable success in fulfilling the task of making over 65,000 technical innovations.

For the comprehensive mechanization of the rural areas, which is pressing and essential for the completion of the technical revolution in the countryside, the respected Kim Jong Il gave guidance to the Kum Song Tractor General Plant, so boosting the production capacity to ten times what it was before, and to the Sungri General Motor Works which has made great strides in the production of tractors and motor cars. He took steps to make Chongsan-ri, Kangso County, South Phyongan Province, a model in the comprehensive mechanization of the rural areas, and to spread the experience gained there.

Kim Jong Il has the conviction that when Chongsan-ri greets the spring, the whole country, too, greets the spring, when Chongsan-ri reaps a bumper crop, the whole country harvests a bumper crop, and when Chongsan-ri surges ahead, communism will be brought about sooner. So he visited Chongsan-ri at dawn and, not minding his clothes getting wet in the morning dew, examined the rice seedlings grown in cold frames and transplanted them alongside those who had gone to assist in the countryside. As the saying "Farming is the foundation of the world" shows, the "agriculture-first policy" is the main component of his economic strategy.

He initiated the "August 3 Consumer Goods" production movement so as to increase the production of consumer goods, and energetically pushed ahead with it. So workshops and workteams producing daily necessities were formed in factories and enterprises, and housewives' workteams were

formed in the neighbourhoods. This movement has contributed greatly to the production of consumer goods.

Socialist economic construction in north Korea in the grim situation of intensified pressure and economic blockade on the part of the imperialists shows the outstanding leadership ability and characteristics of Kim Jong Il.

### 3) Innovation

Outstanding leadership is apt to bring about excellent results.

The wise leadership given by Kim Jong Il has wrought miracles in economic construction.

In the 1970s, when he undertook the administration of the Party and state, the oil crisis suddenly caused great economic confusion throughout the world.

Because the price of petroleum suddenly quadrupled, depression set in the United States, in Japan and in all other industrial advanced states, and many newly-developing third-world countries faced economic crisis. However, north Korea showed steady economic growth, unaffected by the oil crisis and economic confusion, and this surprised the world. That was attributable to the wise economic strategy and outstanding leadership of the President Kim Il Sung backed up by the outstanding leadership of Kim Jong Il.

With his daring initiative, persistent driving ability and skilful organizational ability, Kim Jong Il had many monumental structures built which glorify the age of the Workers' Party.

One example was the construction of a long-distance belt-conveyor at the Unryu Iron Mine. In the past, 25 tons of overburden had to be removed to produce one ton of ore in this opencast mine. Disposal of the overburden was a key problem in the production of iron ore.

To settle this problem, Kim Jong Il boldly proposed building a long-distance belt conveyor. This was done, and a 6-km long belt conveyor now extends from the mine to Kom Islet, passing through Kamsanpho on the westshore and Nunggum Islet near by it. It was further extended to Wolsa-ri in Kwail County with the result that 3,200 hectares of tideland was reclaimed. The north Korean people say this is Kim Jong Il's method of extending land.

Although in the past people lamented over mulberry fields being turned into a blue sea, today in north Korea the blue sea is being converted into a mulberry field, which sings the praises of the people-centred socialist system.

He has convened many conferences, including a "National Builders Conference" to arouse broad sections of the masses to great socialist construction, and he formed various kinds of shock brigades to build monumental structures. In the mid-1980s, he took measures to demobilize 100,000 soldiers of the People's Army and send them to construction sites, and to enlist a large number of soldiers on service to work on major construction projects. At the same time, he ensured that all branches and units of the economy paid great attention to the grand construction projects and that the entire Party and the entire state assisted them.

Dozens of times he has given guidance to major construction sites in Pyongyang. His ceaseless on-the-spot guidance, permeated with the spirit of devoted service to the popular masses, has aroused enthusiasm in the north Korean people to perform brilliant exploits in building monumental buildings, and has filled them with the fighting spirit—"When the Party is determined, we can do anything!"

Under his wise leadership, construction of monumental buildings has been carried on throughout the country on an unprecedented scale. One project was the construction of the 240-km-long Hyesan-Manpho railway, and an express motorway linking many important places was another.

The Miru, Ponghwa, Sunchon and Songchon Lock Gates, including the West Sea Barrage, one of the seven wonders of the world, were built along the Taedong River.

The story of the West Sea Barrage will help you understand the scale on which the great socialist construction led by Kim Jong Il has been carried out.

When you travel the 48 km from Pyongyang to Nampho and dozens of ri (one ri equals 400 metres) south of Nampho, you will find the cape of Unryu County in South Hwanghae Province. The West Sea Barrage stretches 8 kilometres from there to Kwangryang Bay, a famous salt producing centre. The West Sea Barrage is literally a great creation of the century.

According to the construction plan of Kim Jong Il, a combined unit of

the People's Army, construction enterprises, scientists, technicians and a powerful mechanized force were mobilized to build this barrage. From the beginning, building went ahead on the ground, at sea and under water in a three-pronged project and on a large scale as he had instructed.

It was a gigantic project which involved removing several mountains to fill in the river, and damming the sea with blocks as big as ten-storey buildings. Gravel and soil carried in about six hundred 35-ton trucks would make barely one metre of the dam. So the total number of them used for the 8 km-long West Sea Barrage is astronomical.

With keen insight, Kim Jong Il correctly set the central task and main target of their complicated and gigantic project and gave comprehensive guidance to different aspects, ranging from the concentration of forces to the introduction of a new method of work.

In directing the construction on many occasions, he solved difficulties arising in the work and proposed new methods of construction, and thus led to victory the struggle to transform nature.

This tremendous project, started in April, 1986, was completed in only five years, and the West Sea Barrage with its several chambers and dozens of sluices navigable by ships of up to 50,000 tons appeared. As a result, the estuary, where the Taedong River had flowed into the West Sea for thousand years, was converted into a great artificial lake, and Nampho City and Unryu County in South Hwanghae Province were linked by a big dam.

The bold operation, unusual cleverness and skilful direction of Kim Jong Il in directing the construction of the West Sea Barrage, which is of world standard, were wonderful.

Miracles have also been wrought in agriculture in north Korea under the wise leadership of Kim Jong Il.

In the '90s, irrigation canals have been built linking the West Sea Barrage with Lake Jangsu and Onchon; one extending from the West Sea Barrage to Ongha through Sinchon and Kangryong; canals linking the Ryongsong River with the Yonback Plain and the Nam River in North Hwanghae Province with the Miru Plain, and canals whose total length amounts to 800 kilometres stretching from the Thaechon Power Station to Unjon, Jongju, Kwaksan and to the tidelands of the Cholsan peninsula. In addition, a big loop irrigation canal system linking the Taedong River with the Ryongsong, Arnok and Tasryong Rivers was completed. In north Korea, which had several natural lakes before liberation, there appeared over 1,700

large and small reservoirs, over 25,210 pumping stations and irrigation canals whose total length exceeds 40,000 kilometres.

Industrialization and the development of an independent economy should be accompanied by technical revolution. The present age is the age of technical revolution. So the scientific and technical problems arising in making the economy independent and modern and in placing it on a scientific basis cannot be solved satisfactorily apart from technology. Moreover, the imperialist states are enforcing a technological blockade. So economic development cannot be expected without developing technology on one's own.

In north Korea, considerable advances have been made in solving scientific and technical problems to develop machine building, electronics and automation industries and to effect comprehensive mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization of the production processes, which were the immediate tasks set by the Third Seven-Year Plan.

Gold medals were awarded to "Bottom Paint SZ 167 Ka", "Fingerprint Access Control System (Fingerprint Key)", "Directional-changeable Type Double Membrane Electric Condenser Microphone", and "Multi-functional Inoculant for the Production of Spheroidal-Graphite Cast Iron", and a silver medal to "Various Gases Absorbent", all inventions and new technological products sent by north Korea to the 22nd Geneva International Exhibition of Inventions, New Techniques and Production held in Geneva in April, 1994. The exhibits sent by north Korea were highly appreciated as original inventions of high scientific and technical standard and of high economic value.

Great were the developments in labour and material life of the north Korean people as a result of the correct implementation of Kim Jong Il's economic policies for the people.

It is common knowledge that today all the north Korean people live without worries about clothing, food and housing. People often speak about building a welfare society, but actually a society where people enjoy an equal and free life, free from hunger and cold, is one which can truly be called a welfare society. Viewed in this light, north Korea is evidently a welfare society at a high level. However, the respected Kim Jong Il is still not satisfied with providing people with happiness.

One official close to him wrote in an article, "There are two remarks he often makes. One is the question 'Do people like it?', when he gets a report

of people's opinions after he has given the people pleasure. Another is the remark 'What will the people say?', when he learns that people are being inconvenienced."

Kim Jong Il's spirit of devoted service to the people is expressed in his policy of providing people with a bountiful and better life.

One typical example of this is Kwangbok Street in Pyongyang City, built on the occasion of the 13th World Youth and Students Festival, and the housing of 50,000 families on Thongil Street. Kwangbok Street is a hundred metres wide and has a total length of six kilometres and is a mammoth modern residential district.

The central road in Kwangbok Street arouses admiration for its enormous size and its arrangement. Both sides are lined with high-rise apartments for over 20,000 families, beautiful, modern structure, big public buildings and welfare facilities. There are five overpasses.

The central road has more extensive districts on both sides and can be said to be an extended square.

Thongil Street, with housing for 20,000 families, is a magnificent wide street with harmonious groups of high-rise apartments arranged in the shape of angles, terraces and folding screens, etc., extending back on both sides.

Kwangbok, Thongil and Changgwang Streets, built in accordance with the grand plan and under the meticulous guidance of the respected Kim Jong Il, are regarded as monumental structures of the era of Kim Jong Il which suit the people's tastes and contemporary aesthetic style and bring out the beauty of harmony and offer pleasant living space.

## 4. Cultural Revolution and the Development of Socialist National Culture

### 1) Guiding Principle

Cultural revolution, above all, should be carried out in order to realize the people's desire to build a cultured country where material civilization



and cultural civilization are in harmony on the solid basis of economic development.

Kim Jong Il has clarified the essence and mission of cultural revolution as follows:

'The cultural revolution is aimed at liberating the people from the fetters of outmoded culture and developing a socialist culture which serves the people so that all the people can lead a modern, socialist life.'

Cultural revolution in socialist society is clearly distinct in concept from the renovation of mentality we often speak of.

Cultural revolution is an undertaking to do away with the cultural backwardness left over from the old society and to create a progressive working-class culture. It is a revolution in culture to train people to be harmoniously developed persons of the Juche type by increasing their creativity and to satisfy the daily growing cultural requirements of society.

It is an indispensable, principled struggle between capitalism and socialism to break away from the culture of the exploiter class which long infiltrated deeply the life and customs of the people and to establish a new socialist culture. Only when the revolution is continued in the field of culture after the establishment of the socialist political and economic system, is it possible to liberate the people from the fetters of the backward culture left over by the exploiter society and make them the genuine creators and enjoyers of socialist culture. On the other hand, only when socialist culture develops, blossoms and overpowers capitalist culture, is it possible to prevent the ideological and cultural infiltration of the imperialists.

Kim Jong Il defined the intellectualization of the whole of society as the main strategic goal for the development of socialist culture. This is quite an original idea in the theory of building socialism and communism.

'An important strategic objective in carrying out the cultural revolution is to make the whole of society intellectually proficient. From the point of view of the remoulding of human nature the process of building socialism and communism coincides with the process of making all members of society revolutionary and working class and, at the same time, of making them intellectual.'

Making the whole of society intellectual means training and transforming all members of society to be harmoniously developed people of the Juche type who are possessed of wide knowledge and a high level of cultural attainment up to university graduate level.

Making the whole of society intellectual means removing differences in cultural level by getting all members of society to possess wide knowledge and a high level of cultural attainment, whereas making the people revolutionary and working class is to do away with differences in the level of ideological consciousness by making people revolutionaries of the Juche type.

When antagonistic relations disappear with the establishment of the socialist system it is necessary to revolutionize, working-classize and intellectualize all the people. The working class, which has become the leading class of the revolution in the course of fighting against exploitation and oppression as have-nots, possesses a high degree of revolutionary character and organization, but lags behind intellectuals culturally and technically. Intellectuals have a higher cultural and technical level than the working class, but are weak in revolutionary character and organization. This difference between the working class and the intellectuals eventually disappears when the building of socialism progresses and the whole of society is revolutionized, working-classized and intellectualized. Therefore, the remoulding of human nature along communist lines which makes people harmoniously developed persons with an ideological consciousness of independence and a high degree of creativity is effected through the ideological revolution which makes all members of society working class and the cultural revolution which intellectualizes them. Thus Kim Jong Il has set the intellectualization of the whole of society as the strategic goal for the development of socialist culture, thereby clarifying another basic aspect of the remoulding of human nature along communist lines.

Kim Jong Il has laid down the principles for the creation of a socialist national culture as the general manifestation of the mental force of the North Korean people.

The basic principle to be adhered to in the development of socialist national culture is the principle of independence. Namely, an independent character, identity and uniqueness are necessary in developing a socialist national culture.

To explain further, only when an independent stand is adhered to and a creative method is applied in cultural development, as in all other fields of the revolution and construction, is it possible to develop a socialist national culture, so making the revolution in one's own country in one's own spirit and promoting cultural development along the right path by enlisting the strength and wisdom of the broad sections of the people.

Actually, a culture imitating others had no value as culture. It is no exaggeration to say that the soul of culture lies in creation. Therefore, national culture must be strong enough in its independent character and identity to say proudly that it is "one's own" thing, and then it is valued that much more highly.

Another important principle in the development of socialist culture that Kim Jong Il stresses is that it should embody the party spirit, the working-class spirit and the serve-the-people spirit.

Socialist culture reflects the interests, thoughts and sentiments of the working masses and serves them. Its essential characteristic features are the party spirit, the working-class spirit and allegiance to the people.

The party spirit is the soul of socialist culture. Only when socialist culture embodies the party spirit can it become powerful ideological and mental instrument contributing to the cause of independence for the people.

Working-class spirit together with party spirit are the main criteria for defining the characteristic features of socialist culture. It is quite evident that socialist culture must embody the desires and needs of the working class. Culture without class character does not exist in the world, because culture is a form of ideology.

It must be borne in mind that when the working class line is ambiguous in the development of socialist culture, it is liable to degenerate into capitalist culture.

To embody allegiance to the people in the development of socialist culture means to reflect the desires and needs of the people to the full, and positively to enlist them in the creation of culture and in cultural activities.

To have cultural development permeated with allegiance to the people is the nature of socialist culture and the essential requirement of the age of independence in which the people have emerged as the masters of the world and of themselves. Therefore, the tendency to centre on a small number of specialists is the same as making light of the people and making a mystery of cultural creation, and this must be done away with. Even in composing a song or in creating a literary work, the content must always reflect the correct view of the people and conform with the actual struggle and sentiments of the working masses.

Therefore, maintenance of the party spirit, the working-class spirit and the serve-the-people spirit can be said to be the essential requirements of a socialist national culture.

Kim Jong Il has laid it down as an important principle to carry forward and develop socialist culture on the basis of the revolutionary tradition formed during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Generally speaking, if a national culture is to have a clear identity, it must be rooted in tradition. Originally, culture was formed over long historical ages, and it is difficult for a high degree of identity and originality to be achieved in a short time. Original culture is formed through the accumulation of specific way of life and thinking. Therefore, cultural development is rooted in tradition.

Socialist culture, by the way, is not the culture of the ruling class formed in the exploiter society, but a new culture of the people. Socialist culture is not developed from scratch but from revolutionary traditions. Therefore, there is no need to argue that socialist culture must be developed on the basis of revolutionary traditions.

The tradition on which cultural development in north Korea is based is the working-class, popular revolutionary tradition built up during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, organized and led under the Juche banner.

Of course, the national cultural heritage of the past has some popular and progressive elements. But they cannot be the revolutionary tradition to be carried forward by the Juche-oriented socialist culture because they contain limitations emanating from outdated world outlook.

He laid it down as an important principle in developing a Juche-oriented socialist culture to carry forward the revolutionary traditions built up during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. This has given socialist culture deep and strong roots and guaranteed that it will develop and bloom.

It must also be said here that he has made clear the principled relation between the development of socialist culture and national traditional culture. He stresses the need to critically accept the superiority of traditional culture and its progressive and popular elements to suit contemporary aesthetic tastes, while sternly warning against the tendency toward restoration as we develop a socialist national culture. This must be appreciated as the correct answer to the question of harmony of tradition and modernity, as well as to the question of the development of a socialist national culture.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il laid it down as a principle for the creation of a socialist national culture to combine national form with socialist

"We must build culture which is national in form and revolutionary and socialist in content, Juche-oriented culture which agrees with our people's sentiments and is based on the working class line. This will make people's ideological and spiritual life healthy and facilitate the establishment of Juche in ideology."

All culture is a unity of specific content and form. The character and feature of culture and its standard of social education depend on how the question of content and form is settled.

Socialist content means that culture reflects the people's struggle to realize independence and their independent and creative life. National form means that culture takes a form in accord with the people's national sentiments and drawing on national basis. Only when culture has socialist content can it give people revolutionary education and arouse them to build a new society. Culture which is socialist in content and national in form can touch the heartstrings of the people and win their love.

Kim Jong Il's original policy of combining socialist content with national form in developing socialist national culture attracts notice as an excellent, original conception because he has prepared the groundwork for the formation of people who are independent, knowledgeable and morally sound and create a viable cultural climate, and because he has interpreted a new traditional culture to suit modern living conditions and the sentiments of the people so that it is assimilated from a new angle.

In addition, Kim Jong Il stressed that principles to be observed in the development of a socialist national culture must have universality to evoke the sympathy of all, and that it must be a culture with a mass character so that creation of which all members of society participate.

## 2) Education, the Health Service and Longevity

Kim Jong Il has showed his uncommon leadership ability in the building of socialist culture.

First of all, he has achieved great success in education.

He evaluates education as a state's strategy that decides the rise and fall of a country, and has indicated that socialist education is a prerequisite for the building of a socialist culture and for the cultural revolution that should be carried on as befitting a new stage of intellectualizing the whole of society.

As the saying goes, education is the work for the coming generations; it is one of the fundamental issues relating to the destiny and future of the nation, the success and failure in socialist construction.

He said that socialist education is not the business of simply transferring knowledge to people, but a great cause of bringing them up to be people of fine personality and to be political-theoretical activists to serve the revolution and the popular masses so that they can help to realize the cause of independence.

He has suggested that the principle of socialist education should be to combine Juche in education, imbue education work with the party and working-class character and with the spirit of service to the people and combine it with revolutionary practice. He sees to it that the young generation is trained to be men and women of the Juche type, who are ideological, scientific and have practical knowledge and ability.

In accordance with his socialist educational programme, the young generation are brought up to be new-type human beings, possessed of a high level of consciousness of being the masters and of creative ability.

North Korea has achieved the remarkable successes in education.

He directed efforts to develop and round out the universal compulsory education system and has established an eleven-year compulsory free education system, that is most advanced in the world. This is an epoch-making feat.

8 million children and students receive free education at kindergartens, schools and universities. There are 244 universities and colleges. The country ranks as a cultural superpower, having the highest number of students in proportion to the population in the world. As a result, 1.7 million intellectuals have been trained, to satisfy state needs for technicians and specialists.

In line with his thinking on education, the training of cadres and various other types of social education are free, and adult education for working people is also funded by the state. North Korea has established, for the first time in human history, a "life-long education system" that comprises a study-while-working higher education system and a social study system where everybody can study even after the eleven-year education course.

His great thinking on education is based on his ardent humanity.

Thanks to his benevolence, senior middle schools and their branches have been set up even in remote mountain areas and on islets, it is unbelievable when "a school goes to the pupils" and this has become common-



place: legendary stories are told about the "Bridge of Affection", about a school train and about a school boat which is put at the service of a few pupils.

Here I'd like briefly to tell a story about the "Bridge of Affection" in Chogyo-ri in Uncheon County, South Hwanghae Province.

One December day in 1973, Kim Jong Il, while on an inspection tour in South Hwanghae Province, happened to see some little children crossing a stream by stepping stones on their way to school. He asked the pupils how they crossed the stream when the water rose in the rainy season. They answered that their parents or senior pupils carried them on their backs across the stream. He suggested building a bridge for the schoolchildren. In this way the "Bridge of Affection" was built. It was named thus by the V. I. lagers to convey his love for the children from generation to generation. This is only one anecdote out of many. Kim Jong Il attaches great importance to the after school education of the young generation, and has had students and children's palaces, libraries for schoolchildren, Children's Union camps and general recreation centres established in many parts of the country.

He even consulted the editorial plan of *Flower Bud*, a kindergarten children's pictorial magazine, and spares no funds to increase the issue of books for the cultivation of sentiments and for the intellectual and technical education of children. As a consequence, a radical change has been brought about in the publishing of books for children. For example, 8.6 million more copies of books of about 200 titles were published in 1984.

Kim Jong Il took the far-reaching step of developing the higher education system of study-while-working as one of the ways to realize the intellectualization of the whole of society. He said:

"What is important for the intellectualization of whole of society is to develop the higher education system of study-while-working."

"This system is a superior education system that enables us to successfully realize the intellectualization of whole of society at the present stage."

More factory universities were established in the big factories and enterprises, and farm colleges and fishery colleges were set up. As a result, the working people are fully provided with conditions for receiving not only secondary education but also higher education in workers' districts, and in rural and fishing villages.

He had the Grand People's Study House play an important role as a cor-

respondence university, the key centre for intellectualizing the whole of society. At the same time, he got libraries in all parts of the country to fulfil the role as disseminators of new science and technology and as study organizers. Thanks to his wise guidance, north Korea today is known to the world as a land of learning.

North Korea has scored great achievements also in the field of medicine.

Today north Korea's free comprehensive medical service system is well known to the world's people. All citizens of north Korea, regardless of sex, place of residence and occupation, are guaranteed by law the right to receive free medical care. Once a woman living in Wollo-ri in Mangyongdae District of Pyongyang suddenly fell ill and was sent to the Hospital of the Pyongyang University of Medicine. She was about six months pregnant and was in a critical condition. A competent medical team consisting of 50 staff members was formed to save her. The patient recovered after the treatment which included a general checkup, 65 medical consultations, about 200 intensive tests, 105 days on a respirator, 4.5 litres of blood transfusion and one hundred different medicines. She gave birth to a premature child after two months' hospitalization. The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital had to take emergency measures to save the child with the help of an incubator. The woman miraculously recovered her health in 156 days and left the hospital with her baby girl who had been in an incubator for three months. The medical expenses incurred for the woman and her child came to a huge amount, one that would have taken her and her husband 350 years to earn. All expense was borne by the state.

Kim Jong Il said:

"The Party's policy on preventive medicine is the basic policy for the public health services, a policy which represents the inherent needs of socialist medical science."

He defined the basic mission of socialist medicine as preventing disease and protecting and improving the health of the people. He has ensured that the section doctor system\* is improved and that a change is brought about in public health propaganda, sanitation work and anti-epidemic work.

\* The section doctor system is a medical service system under which a doctor takes charge of a residential quarter where he or she takes care of the residents' health and conducts prophylactic work.

Due to his energetic guidance and care, various specialized hospitals and general hospitals have been built and the village clinics have grown into hospitals.

Doctors and mass-communication envoys from Europe and Asian countries who have been to north Korea are unanimous in reporting that it provides a completely free medical service, and nationwide medical service network is developed beyond imagination, and the country is free from epidemics. They have described the unique policy for public health in north Korea, preventive medicine, and of combination of traditional Korean medicine with modern medicine under the section doctor system.

Today north Korea has 29.7 doctors and 36 beds per 10,000 people, and the average life span is 74.5 years, that is, at the level of most developed countries in the world. Such an achievement does not depend only on the wealth of a country. What is more important is the leader's determination to carry out his policy, in other words, he should be firm in his political attitude towards the people's health and a people's government should be established.

A mention of the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital will help the reader to understand the greatness of Kim Jong Il.

The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital is located in Munhung-dong, Taedonggang District, Pyongyang. It has a total floor space of 60,000 square metres, and contains 2,030 rooms and 1,500 beds. The hospital is a general gynecological hospital and also a research centre.

In February, 1979, Kim Jong Il held a consultation to discuss the construction of this maternity hospital, and on April 15 of the same year—that is, the birthday of President Kim Il Sung, he chose the site.

That day he gave concrete guidance for the building of the hospital in a short period by organizing a good construction team and mobilizing hundreds of heavy machines and even a helicopter. In September, he checked the interior designs and the list of medical equipment, and stressed that the hospital should be a modern one, furnished with up-to-date medical devices. By virtue of his meticulous guidance on over 30 occasions, the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital was opened in September, 1981.

He initiated the construction of a dental hospital in Hapung for the workers of the Hapnam District and provided it with modern dental equipment.

Kim Jong Il asserted that pollution control is not a technical or business

making, but an important political activity. He directed that pollution control posts should be set up in the major industrial areas and research on pollution be intensified, and that industrial establishments strictly control discharging pollutants.

He took a wise measure in having a medical specialist examine the blueprints of a new factory, its construction and completion, so as to prevent pollution from the beginning.

Several years ago, he cancelled a plan to build a big factory on the banks of the Songchon River. He then said he could not endorse a project that harms people in the least, no matter what great economic significance it has. Thus the Songchon River still provides clean water to the city of Hamhung.

Water is life for mankind. Especially, water is precious for the contemporary dweller whose life is threatened by the destruction of nature due to overpopulation and industrial pollution. Most industrial cities in the world are being converted into "cities of death". In contrast to this situation, the inhabitants of industrial cities, such as Hamhung and Chongjin, enjoy life with clean water and air, free from the dangers of pollution. This is because I perceive once again the truth that Kim Jong Il's people's government provides the masses with good living conditions.

Along with independent consciousness and creativity, sound physique is also indispensable for a man of the Juche type. The integration of these two—knowledge, morality and physique—is what an ideal man has desired from olden times.

Kim Jong Il has said that the popular character of Juche-oriented culture lies in making the masses creators of physical culture and sports, and he has ensured that these are popularized and made part and parcel of the life of the masses so that all the people take part in sports.

He saw that the "month for national physical strength examination" and "summer physical culture month" and "winter physical culture month" were set, and has mass physical culture and sports are extensively conducted. And the "national physical culture and sports movement" he initiated stirred up the popularization of physical culture and sports, so making it an integral part of everyday life. It is a country is to become a modern socialist country, and factories, enterprises, cooperative farms and communes should organize physical culture activities and make them an important part of their lives; every member should pass physical examination.

tions, sports events should be organized two to three of which should be in the ranking range at annual national and provincial athletic sports contests. In the late '80s, 15 cities or counties won this title of honour, and the "model physical culture county movement" became nationwide movement.

Thus broad masses of the people have become people of the Juche type who are knowledgeable, virtuous and healthy. Now all the people create and enjoy culture. This is the distinguished service Kim Jong Il has rendered in the building of socialist culture.

### 3) Renaissance in the 20th Century

The blossoming of literature and the arts in north Korea through the efforts of Kim Jong Il is talked about as the Renaissance of the 20th century.

The Renaissance, which was started in Italy in the 14th-16th centuries, was a cultural movement for the discovery of humanity and a display of individuality opposed to the feudal and Christian outlook on the world. It was also a campaign for the revival of literature and the arts, evidenced mainly in the fields of literature, the fine arts, sculpture and architecture. However, during the 500 years since the Renaissance, West European literature lost its humanity, obsessed as it was with the image of god.

What then should the arts of mankind be like? This is a question which concerns all human beings. But in the mid-20th century, a cultural revolution of a new type began in Korea in the East.

The cultural revolution in north Korea was at a higher level than the Renaissance.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il is a genius of literature and the arts.

He has written scores of books on literature and the arts, including *On Juche-Oriented Theory on Literature*, *On the Art of the Cinema*, *On the Art of Music*, *On the Art of Dance*, *On Fine Art*, *On the Art of Opera*, *On the Art of Drama* and *On the Art of Architecture*, thereby bringing about a blossoming of Juche literature and the arts and making a great contribution to the development of the theories of literature and the arts of mankind. Thanks to his intelligent guidance, all fields of the arts—literature, the cinema, drama, opera, music, fine arts, dance and architec-

ture—have been fruitful, and a golden age of Juche literature and the arts has been launched.

Fixing himself on the immortal Juche idea, Kim Jong Il has explained the nature and features of socialist, communist literature and the arts on a scientific basis and has put forward in an all-round way some principles and aesthetic and practical questions arising in the creation and development of literature and the arts in line with the requirements of our times and the aspirations of the masses.

He first of all cast his keen eye on the portrayal of the leader in literary works.

He said:

"An important question arising in developing socialist, communist literature and the arts is how to portray a leader of the working class. If the literature and the arts of the working class are to fulfil their mission, which is to put into practice the leader's revolutionary thought and to serve his revolutionary cause, they must profoundly depict his revolutionary activities."

To portray a great leader of the working class was an important task for socialist, communist literature and the arts, our era's literature and the arts. Nevertheless, there was no experience to be followed in creating the character of the leader. The unique clarification of the principles and aesthetic, practical problems arising in creating the leader's character was made by Kim Jong Il.

Above all, he advanced the aesthetic principle that the portrayal of the leader should be highlighted and made reverent, and advised writers and artists to base themselves on this in their creative work.

He kindly taught that the ideological content and melody of the song *Long Life and Good Health to the Leader* and other hymns in honour of President Kim Il Sung should brim over with lofty emotional tints, as did the scenes, words and music of the film *Star of Korea* and other revolutionary films.

He also taught that the principle of depicting the leader among the people should be maintained in creating the character of the leader. He advised creative workers on the proper representation of the noble personality of the leader who, always among the working people, shared the sweet and bitter with them and showed them warm affection and favour. In addition, he stressed that for a flawless depiction of the leader it is necessary to study deeply his profound humanity, his inner world, and portray well the noble



personality of the great man through fresh artistic images. And he has seen to it that the above-mentioned principles have been applied in all fields of literature and the arts.

In this way the creation of the leader's character has evolved as an independent sphere in building up literature and the arts of the working class.

Man, that is, the masses, is always placed at the centre of Kim Jong Il's outstanding literary thoughts; that also is his greatness. Hence, he put forward an original literary theory of communist humanism.

He said:

"Our literature must embody communist humanism which values the people as the most powerful, beautiful and noble beings and which serves them.

"The humanism we desire is literature which raises the question of independence and the question of independent man, and which creates a genuine human type of the new era, thus helping the whole of society to be remoulded as required by the Juche idea."

Juche humanism, communist humanism, gives a clear exposition of man's independence.

Previously, literature was called humanism too. This was so from a general sense that literature portrays life and places man in the centre, since man's attributes were not given a philosophical description.

Now that human nature is made clear on a scientific basis by the Juche idea, a decidedly clear answer has been given to the basic question of literature as humanism, that is, the question of what kind of person should it depict as its main mission. Juche humanism raises as the fundamental question in literature defending the independence of human beings as the subject of history, of an independent people, instead of mankind as a whole. A principled demand is to describe life with people's political integrity as its pivot.

The humanism advocated by Kim Jong Il, which requires that life and struggle be depicted with the creation of a model of independent man as its basis, attaches great importance to the freedom and emancipation of the masses and their dignity and human values and indicates the right way to create literature and the arts for the masses.

His theory of literature and the arts comprises the theory of the seed which influences the creation of socialist literature and the arts.

He said.

"In art and literature the seed means the core of a work; it is the ideological life-essence which contains both the writer's main subject and the way in which the elements for depicting the characters can strike root."

"The seed is the basis and the kernel of a literary work. It integrates material, theme and thought in an organic relationship."

"The seed is the basis which blends the ideological and artistic qualities of a literary work, and the decisive factor in assuring its value."

These are gem-like propositions. In view of the theory of the seed, the process of creating a literary work is one in which the plot of a story stems from the seed, flowers of delineation bloom, the theme matures in them and the ideological content is made clear and profound and enriched. This is the physiological process of a literary work elucidated by his seed theory.

If we liken a literary work to an organism, the seed is the kernel of life. Therefore, a writer should select the good seeds in life. This is his primary undertaking to create an excellent literary work of good ideological content and artistic value and also a key to its success. Only when a writer has chosen a good seed can he depict his characters clearly and become determined to create a work. After selecting a sound seed, a writer must subordinate characters, events, conflicts and every other artistic element to it and cultivate it artistically. The aforesaid is an outline of the seed theory.

The seed theory gives a key to grasping all the elements of depiction in an integrated way, developing representation and creating literary works that are high in ideological and artistic quality.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il has made a breach in the literary and art revolution in the art of the cinema.

On the basis of the cognitive and educational function of this art and his scientific understanding of its position in the field of literature and the arts, he sees to it that intensive efforts are directed to the development of the art of the film and thus a breach was made and the success in this field has been extended to all fields of literature and the arts.

His advice is that definite precedence should be given to the creation of scenarios in film-making. Scenarios are the ideological and artistic basis of films, and the creation of a scenario is the first process in film-making. His views on the scenario are in order to make a film in the Juche-orientated way in keeping with the requirements of our era, renovations should be made first of all in the field of the scenario, definite priority given to creating of scenarios ahead of film-making, and the ideological and artistic level

of scenarios constantly improved. Meanwhile he established a system of direction in which a director becomes the "commander" of a creative group and pushes on with all creating undertakings in a coordinated way while giving priority to political work. In addition, he initiated a revolutionary creative method which enables a director to enhance the political awareness of the creative staff members so that they conscientiously engage in the production of the film. Paying great attention to improving acting skills, he has raised the function and role of shooting, scenery, music and so forth, that are indispensable for a film, thereby bringing about a new turn in the progress of the art of the film.

The art of the film in north Korea constitutes a constellation of art. This is attributable to Kim Jong Il's profound thinking and tireless efforts. He would sit face to face with a writer for five to six hours for them to analyse a scenario together and revise it. One day he taught a writer how to show a hundred things through one thing, not through a hundred things. Herein the value of artistic representation. Another day he visited a film location under the blazing sun and worked hard to bring out the truth of a scene more vividly. His energetic guidance in the art of the film is aimed at the ideological revolutionizing of the masses, rather than being aimed at the film itself.

Briefly, for him revolution in the field of the film is politics itself, and at the same time it is part of his devoted service to the masses. The revolution in opera he has brought about is truly wonderful. He said: "To overcome the socio-historical restrictions and ideological-artistic limitations of opera and create operas of a new type suited to the aspirations and needs of the masses in the Juche era, we must make revolution in all its spheres in its content and form, creative system and creative method."

The main points in his theory of the opera are a stanzaic song and *pangchang*.

Opera first appeared in Florence, Italy, at the end of the 16th century. In fact, the first opera was composed and performed to celebrate the marriage of Henri VI of France in 1600. Aria and recitative, which are the main elements of the opera of Western Europe, have been invariable. However, the introduction of a stanzaic song and *pangchang* by Kim Jong Il has brought about a great revolution which has made opera an art for the broad masses of the people.

Kim Jong Il removed the aria, which is said to be the flower of West European opera and introduced the stanzaic song, instead. The aria which

reflects the aristocratic character of opera is complex in its structure, and its melodies are exceedingly technical and difficult to sing. In our times, when the masses have become the masters of society, opera, too, should be free from aristocracy and possessed by the masses. This suits the needs of the times as far as opera is concerned. Accordingly it is natural that the form of opera should also have a mass music form as a basic means for artistic expression. Hence, Kim Jong Il advanced a unique policy of making the stanzaic song, which has been created and refined by the masses through the ages, the basic way to present opera, and he translated this into action.

The stanzaic song which has been crowned as a flower of opera is popular, beautiful and concise, and rich in expression. Metaphorically speaking, the aria or recitative is prose, whereas the stanzaic song is poetry. When giving energetic guidance to the revolutionary opera *Sea of Blood* twenty years ago, which became the fanfare of the revolution in opera, he introduced the stanzas.

In the past, a stanzaic song was underestimated and neglected as simple and crude, and short of artistic quality. It was Kim Jong Il who revived stanzaic songs, and put them on a high plane as the basic form.

At the same time he made sure that *pangchang* was extensively introduced in opera. Applying *pangchang* to opera means using vocal music echoing off stage for stage representation.

Musical representation in the previous opera comprised only the songs sung on stage and orchestral music played in the orchestra pit. He found in *pangchang* a key to overcoming the limitations of the West European-style opera and introduced it to opera as the main form. With the introduction of *pangchang*, Juche opera has become a wonderful artistic genre which is able to reflect all details of life. While giving guidance to the revolution in opera, he sees to it that the art of the dance is introduced as an essential part and that a belt stage and 3-D stage are used.

A new era of *Sea of Blood*-style opera started in north Korea, a tribute to his artistic talent and brilliant achievements.

In addition to literature, film and opera, he has developed drama, music, dance, the circus and other artistic genres in a Juche-oriented way to meet the requirements of our times and the aspirations of the people.

The creation of dance notation is one of the striking feats he accomplished in the history of human art.

After having analysed the art of the dance of the Mansudae Art Troupe,

a troupe which has achieved worldwide fame, he suggested a research task for dance notation and formed a research group of artists and scientists versed in this field. He also gave the orientation for notating dances in the manner of alphabetic combination. He advised the group that a system of dance notation should be able to record various steps and not only dances of other countries, and suggested the basic principle to hold fast to in the research work.

Thanks to his energetic guidance, the group published the *Korean Dance Notation* in February, 1987. This system is capable of comprehensively recording not only dance steps but also all the formative elements of the art of the dance, like the music notes. This dance notation system is perfect, and thus its creation brought about a new turn in the development of the art of dance.

In the mid-15th century, a Spaniard started to study dance notation. In the 500 years since then different dance notation systems have been produced, but none of them were introduced in practice in the art of dance because of their immaturity and imitations, so the creation of a dance notation system was considered to be impossible.

However, Kim Jong Il did away with this fixed conception. He got the scientists and artists to invent a dance notation and to give full play to their wisdom and zeal, thus leading them to success.

With the full manifestation of his thinking on Juche architecture, a radical change has been brought about in the field of architecture. Monumental structures have been erected.

Kim Jong Il defined architecture as a comprehensive art.

Architecture comprises rhythm and harmony, composition and balance and, at the same time, is symbolic of the spirit of the times, of the ideological and spiritual features of contemporary people and their aesthetic sentiments. Therefore, it is not at all easy to acquire the elegance and knowledge of architecture, because these are obtained through long specialized education and creative practice.

Nevertheless, Kim Jong Il is profoundly versed in architectural theory, has scientific vision and is very knowledgeable about architecture. He initiated Juche architectural aesthetics and applies "Korean style" architectural art to every building. The principles he urged in the building of monumental structures were that they should: first, embody the revolutionary outlook on the leader; secondly, meet the requirements of the people aspiring after

independence; and thirdly, make every structure an everlasting asset of the country so that it will be perfect in the future, too.

The following happened when the Tower of the Juche Idea and the Arch of Triumph were built on the occasion of the 70th birthday of President Kim Il Sung.

He advised the designers to build the Tower of the Juche Idea in the national traditional form of a stone tower 170 metres high, which would be the highest in the world, place a torch on the white granite tower composed of 70 blocks, engrave in gold letters "Juche" in relief on the walls of the tower, erect a sculptural group representing a worker, a peasant and an intellectual holding high the emblem of the Workers' Party of Korea in front of the tower and build some statue groups on various themes showing the invincible vitality of the Juche Idea to the left and right of the tower.

He said that the Arch of Triumph in Pyongyang must be built to be the highest and grandest in unique national form and cubic effect, and he fixed its height at 60 metres. He also directed its composition: to lay the pedestal as four square pillars on the four cornerstones, make four arches between them, top them with a square-shaped, three-tiered roof and inscribe on the north and south faces of the pillars the figures "1925-1945", for the year when the great leader Kim Il Sung left Mangyongdae with the high aim of national liberation and for the time when he returned home in triumph.

Thus the Tower of the Juche Idea was built as a great monument in two years and the Arch of Triumph, in 17 months. They are first-class structures in the world in height, style and scale, ideological quality and artistic value.

The Tower of the Juche Idea is higher than the Washington Monument (555 feet) in Washington, D.C., USA, that was said to be the highest stone tower in the world up to then.

And the Arch of Triumph in Pyongyang is the highest triumphal arch in the world, higher than the Arch de Triomphe in Paris which is 50 metres high. The latter project was undertaken in 1806 on the order of Napoleon and completed over 30 years later.

The Grand People's Study House stands on Namsan Hill in the heart of Pyongyang. It is one of the buildings representing symbolically monumental structures in the era of the Workers' Party of Korea. The study house is typical of traditional, national architecture: the many hip-saddled roofs capped with beautiful blue tiles seem as if wild geese are flying in wedge form into the sky; the columns boast of national beauty.



It has a total floor space of 100,000 square metres and a capacity of housing 30 million volumes. It also has more than 600 rooms, including halls, lecture rooms, recording rooms etc., and modern facilities for public services.

The monumental creations—the May Day Stadium, modern gymnasia in Chongchun Street, the Pyongyang Metro which is called an underground palace; the Mansudae Art Theatre with its beautiful park and fountain and magnificent architecture harmonizing well with the fascinating interior decor representing the legendary eight fables on Mt. Kunang coming down from the Heaven, the Ice Rink proud of its architectural and rhythmic beauty; the Changgwang Health Complex; the Mangyongdae Schoolchildren's Palace—all are the crystallization of the Juche architectural aesthetic thought of Kim Jong Il.

Each of these grand structures in north Korea is a masterpiece and admired by the people of the world.

Giancarlo Etti Valori, secretary-general of the Italian Institute for International Relations, characterized the construction in the north as Kim Jong Il's style.

Once the Caracalla Theatre and Colosseum Stadium erected in the golden age of Rome demonstrated the majesty of Rome, and today the Tower of the Juche Idea, the Arch of Triumph, the Grand People's Study House, the May Day Stadium, and many other monumental structures are displaying the imposing appearance of Juche Korea.

In the north, painting, too, blossoms and develops.

Looking back on the history of human culture, we see it took several hundred years to create a mental culture which was distinguished from another. However, the "20th century's Renaissance" in north Korea has taken place in the short time of ten years in all fields of literature and the arts, not just in one field. This is the undying monumental achievement of Kim Jong Il, a master of literature and the arts.

Koizumi Uzakura, a member of the Art Institute of Japan and a writer, commented on the blossoming of Juche literature and the arts of the north: "Certainly a great man, a great philosopher and a great master of aesthetics stands unseen behind great art. We wanted to know who that great leader was. Now we have come to know that he is the outstanding leader Kim Jong Il who is illumining a road to create genuine art for the people of the world, in the van of the art of the 20th century."

## VI. Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army

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Over 14,000 wars have been recorded in history, and the ratio of wartime to peacetime is four to one. In short, it turns out that there has been no period of twenty years in any century without war somewhere in the world. There were over 140 armed conflicts and local wars in the half a century after World War II.

In this light, it is no exaggeration to say that human history is a history of ceaseless wars. That was why every country attaches importance to military affairs in the administration of state affairs.

There is an old saying, "Defensive preparedness keeps off harm." It is a warning which stresses that if a strong army is built up while attaching importance to military affairs, and if defensive preparations are made, the state and nation can be defended from foreign invasion, but if national defence is neglected national ruin is unavoidable.

National defence ensures the safety and welfare of the people, and, therefore, it is inevitable that great importance is attached to the role of the military commander. The saying that there are no weak soldiers under the command of an able general means that military affairs and victory or defeat in war depend on the commander.

In olden times, to win a war or to be an outstanding commander in a certain branch of arms was enough to make a general famous.

However, in modern times, war has been put on a scientific basis and has become three-dimensional. The battlefield has become wide and deep, and war involves whole territories and whole nations. Hence, an ideal commander is required to have scientific military thinking, theory and strategy corresponding to modern war, as well as outstanding ability to command. Only such a commander can train an invincible army, skilfully take command over the whole army and the whole nation in an emergency and apply flexible strategy and tactics and thus emerge victorious.

In this sense, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army Marshal Kim Jong Il is known in the modern world community as an outstanding military genius and as a brilliant, iron-willed commander.

He who was born the son of the sacred Mountain Paektu, to whom the sound of firing was a lullaby, acquired military wisdom and the principles of Juche-oriented military science, and superior strategy and tactics from Generalissimo Kim Il Sung. At the age of about twenty he read war history and books on military science of all ages and countries. He analysed the build-up and use of armies by famous generals and the experience and the

lessons of famous campaigns. He published several hundred talks and treatises on the build-up of branches of modern arms and services and on strategy and tactics.

While in charge of state affairs as a whole as the successor to the Juche cause, he has made clear the military line of simultaneously building up the economy and defences and building the army into the army of the leader and the Party and into an invincible army while making all the people attach importance to military affairs. This is crucial when one considers the geographical location of the country and the specific conditions for building socialism in a politically divided state and he has endeavoured to implement it. Owing to his outstanding military thinking, theory and strategy, such and iron will and strenuous efforts, the Korean People's Army is now reputed to be a strong army where every soldier is the equal of a hundred foes, and which can defend socialism and peace on the Korean peninsula, and is fully prepared in countering increasing war threats in the tense situation of truce.

General Kim Jong Il was acclaimed Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army in 1991 and Chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1993 because of his immortal military services and the absolute trust of the people.

## 1. The Training of a Strong Army Where Every Soldier Is the Equal of a Hundred Foes, and the Buildup of an All-People's Defence System

### 1) The Army Has Been Turned Into a Strong Army Where Every Soldier Matches a Hundred Foes

The respected Supreme Commander General Kim Jong Il has trained the whole army to become a strong army where every soldier matches a hundred foes.

He clarified the essence of the slogan "One Soldier Equals a Hundred Foes" put forward by Generalissimo Kim Il Sung.

"... If one is firmly equipped with the leader's revolutionary thinking, masters one's weapon, consolidates one's position so that it is as strong as an iron wall and uses this position to beat the enemy, it is fully possible for one soldier to equal a hundred foes."

The slogan "One soldier equals a hundred foes" which was adopted as the slogan in the strategic army buildup means, first, fully to prepare the army politically, militarily, ideologically and physically; secondly, to modernize the armaments; and thirdly, to turn military positions into fortresses as required by modern warfare.

Kim Jong Il has given priority to improvement in the mental qualities and tactical ability of the soldiers.

Proceeding from the people-centred viewpoint in building up the army, he regards the political and ideological preparedness of the soldiers as fundamental for fighting ability.

Full political and ideological preparation is the first requirement in preparing every soldier to be equal to a hundred foes.

This is his conclusion drawn from his idea-first philosophy.

He has paid primary attention to political and ideological education in the People's Army so that army-men worship the leader and are imbued with an ardent love of their socialist homeland, proceeding from the viewpoint that embracing of the leader means precisely embracing of the homeland.

There occurred an incident which shows the political and ideological level of the People's Army men he trained.

Two soldiers of the Korean People's Security Forces (Corporal Kim Chol Jin aged 23 and Private 1st Class Kim Kyong Chol aged 20) who sailed out to the sea in January, 1994, in a small boat. The boat went adrift in a violent storm, and the men lost consciousness. They were taken on to a patrol boat of the south Korean navy. When they recovered consciousness in an army hospital in Seoul, they flatly refused to defect as the south Korean authorities urged.

Rejecting all persuasion and enticements, they sang the song *No Motherland without You* in praise of General Kim Jong Il and protested, saying, "We can live apart from our parents but we cannot live away from the embrace of General Kim Jong Il."

The soldiers demanded stubbornly that they spoke of General Kim Jong Il with due respect. The south Korean mass media reported that

the north Korean soldiers were "unconscious till late at night because they held their tongues" lest they make a slip if they be put to torture or tricked, and that "it is worthy of admiration that they sang the song of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il." Newspaper *Hanguk Ilbo* dated January 30, 1994 in commenting on their political and ideological preparedness which showed that they were army-men with a first-class military spirit.

They who were not elite but ordinary soldiers, acted justly and heroically although they were captured and taken to an enemy camp where they might be killed. This fully shows the political and ideological preparedness of all People's Army men.

General Kim Jong Il has seen to it that unity between officers and men based on revolutionary comradeship has been established and become a rule in life in the People's Army.

Before anything else, he urges all commanding officers to live with their men and share life and death with them as the commanding officers of the anti-Japanese guerrillas did in the past.

In March 1968, he met a deputy company commander in charge of political work in an artillery company. In acquainting himself with how political work was conducted in the company, he learned that this deputy company commander educated his men while sometimes standing sentry all night through with them, and sometimes carried loads by shoulder pole on work sites. He said that this was precisely the way the commanding officers of the People's Army should be always generous without wadding their authority, singing and dancing with soldiers and becoming mothers loving them.

He said, "People's Army men share weal and woe without the least difference between officers and men, and the whole army is closely united on the basis of revolutionary comradeship."

Revolutionary comradeship is the ethics rooted in the view on collective life. The relations between officers and men cannot be otherwise in an army rooted in the soil of collective life.

Commanding officers take care of and love their men like their brothers or sons, whereas the soldiers trust and follow their officers as they would do their mother, elder brother or elder sister. These are the noble mental and moral characteristics of the People's Army which has inherited the tradition of unity between officers and men that originated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It is testimony to the greatness of Supreme Com-



mander Kim Jong Il who has formed an integrated whole of the armed collective

Kim Jong Il attaches great importance to equipping the officers and men with a high degree of strategic ability and strong physique, along with optimum political and ideological awareness and mental and moral qualities.

Preparing each of the soldiers militarily, technically and physically is one of important requirements in making them equal to a hundred foes.

However good their political and ideological awareness and noble mental and moral qualities, army men weak in strategic ability and weak physically cannot fulfil their duty as army men. Moreover, modern war fought in three dimensions with modernized weapons and technical equipment require army men to master modern technology, show keen judgement of the situation and possess strategic ability and sturdy physique.

Kim Jong Il has established the habit of hard training throughout the army.

An army exists to fight the enemy, and it shows its worth only when it wins a war. In order to defeat the enemy, an army must undergo good training in peacetime. Real war is inconceivable without training.

The military secret of every soldier being equal to a hundred foes lies in undergoing good combat training.

Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il put forward the slogan "Training is also a battle!", to stress the need to establish the viewpoint that training decides victory or defeat in war and in the fate of the revolution. He stresses that the basic revolutionary task the Party has set before the People's Army is to fully prepare for war by undergoing good training, that the unit which fulfils its training tasks without fail is an exemplary unit. He has energetically guided combat training in different branches of arms and services. He began to give field guidance to units of the People's Army way back in the 1960s. A year before the *Pueblo* incident, he was with one unit on the east coast, when he noticed that the artillery and navy men were neglecting small firearms.

In order to make the whole army a strong army where every soldier is equal to a hundred foes, all soldiers should be brought up to be versatile, and training should be intensified so that navy men, too, master the automatic rifle and other small firearms and become able fighters not only at sea but also on land, he said.

The *Pueblo* called the "hidden king" of the US navy was promptly cap-

tured by sailors of the Korean People's Army who has become versatile sailors under his guidance.

On a visit to a certain air force unit, he gave guidance in training in the air. He watched attentively the pilot's behaviour in taking off, and saw that he seemed strained in lower pressure. He asked the commanding officer of the unit aboard the plane what training the pilots were given on the ground.

The commanding officer replied that the main stress was put on theoretical preparation, and that training in the cockpit was conducted once every several days. In all countries, this is a regular method of ground training for the pilots who handle a plane which can be said to be the product of high technology.

He said it was wrong to neglect training in the cockpit and explained why. When an automobile driver drives after not driving for several days, he feels awkward behind the wheel. It goes without saying that it is all the more so with a pilot who has to watch many instruments. Pilots must be able skilfully to pilot a plane even with their eyes shut by intensifying training in the cockpit. This is a very good method of combining theory with practice on the ground, he said.

He sometimes gave guidance in torpedo training, going aboard a torpedo boat, and explaining to the sailors the unique warfare suited to our arms and equipment and to our seas, which is something completely new in military theory and strategy. He has sometimes taught tankmen the lesson learnt from World War II that the Kursk tank battle is now looked on as "primitive warfare" because of the failure to apply strategy suited to the terrain, and he showed the need to create tank warfare strategy suited to the terrain of Korea which abounds in mountains, rivers and swampland.

Whatever units of branches of arms and services he has given field guidance, he has paid special attention so that all army men are possessed of steel-strong physique and can bear any load and any adversity.

His field guidance has reached every unit of the different branches of arms and services—the air force, the navy, the armoured corps, the artillery men, the communications corps and the infantry.

Owing to his energetic and meticulous guidance, the Korean People's Army has become a strong army mentally, strategically and physically so that every soldier is equal to a hundred foes. Every army man is prepared to carry out the duties of the rank one grade above his own. With inexhaustible energy, he has successfully carried out Generalissimo

Kim Il Sung's line of making the whole army a cadre army and a crack army.

Kim Jong Il ceaselessly pays attention to modernizing the arms and equipment.

With the appearance of modern weapons and of combat and technical equipment based on the latest achievements of science and technology the role of arms and equipment in war is increasing with the passage of time.

Regarding this as an important matter related to the existence of the nation, he sees to it that modernization is accelerated by enlisting the latent manpower, material and technical potential of the country.

Above all he has put effort into building a modern defence industry. This industry requires a lot of material, capital and labour. Hence it is called the "money-consuming industry". The small guided missile "Exaucer" launched from an Argentinian plane which sank the British destroyer *Sheffield* at the time of the Falklands War in 1982 cost 200,000 dollars, whereas the sunk destroyer cost 250,000,000 dollars. The real state of affairs is that many countries cannot modernize their military equipment for lack of material and funds as well as of scientific and technical capability.

Kim Jong Il is modernizing the defence industry and military equipment with the firm determination not to allow the bitter past of statelessness to recur.

His iron will is that whatever is needed for the modernization of arms and equipment should not be spared. He sometimes spends a night in an arms factory and has sometimes tested the weapons himself at a firing range.

Kim Jong Il has seen to it that the striking force and mobility of the infantrymen is radically enhanced, the artillery is self-propelled and its performance and fire power are improved.

The head of the Cuban military delegation who watched a review of troops held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of founding of the Korean People's Army said, "The Korean People's Army is a first-class army not only in morale but also in mobility and striking force." In appreciation of the fact that all weapons were home products, the head of the Iranian military delegation said, "With the arms shown at the review of troops alone, a big war can be waged and victory can be won without difficulty."

Turning military positions into fortresses is one of the main aspects of the slogan "One soldier equals a hundred foes."

Military understanding of the military position by north Korea renders the enemy's numerical superiority powerless and makes attack and defence by its army most effective.

Kim Jong Il has wisely turned the front zone and all other military positions into fortresses.

The German Siegfried Line and the French Maginot line at the time of World War II are recorded in history as being "impregnable" fortresses but the military positions of north Korea, situated as they are in tunnels, are regarded as fortresses known to be as impregnable as an iron wall.

Today the imperialist allied forces, always watching for an opportunity to attack north Korea, a bulwark of socialism, dare not resort to armed forces. This is ascribable to the might of the Korean People's Army.

Owing to the superb leadership of Kim Jong Il, the People's Army has become a strong army possessed of strong military spirit, superb strategy, excellent marksmanship and fine physique which can reliably and under any circumstances defend the socialist system and the people from the enemy by depending on its modernized arms and fortified positions.

## 2) To Fortify the Whole Country like Xiaowangqing

It was President Kim Il Sung's intention and General Kim Jong Il's mission to arm the entire people and fortify the whole country like Xiaowangqing.

Xiaowangqing in Manchuria was a base in the guerrilla zone along the Yalu River that General Kim Il Sung created at the beginning of the anti-Japanese war. The Japanese imperialists concentrated a large-scale punitive force against the Xiaowangqing base. Kim Il Sung turned Xiaowangqing into a fortress to counter the enemy's successive attacks. In the history of the anti-Japanese war the "battle for the defence of Xiaowangqing" is recorded as the symbol displaying the merit of an all-people's defence system.

Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il is a military genius who has established an all-people's defence system throughout north Korea like that in Xiaowangqing.

When looked at from the military viewpoint, history shows that when war was fought between tribes in ancient society all members of the tribes took part in battle, and all of them took up an occupation for their livelihood after the end of the war.

In class society there appeared professional soldiers as mercenaries. But in modern times, obligatory military service is in force in many countries.

Nowadays, the merit of arming the entire people is acknowledged, but failure to do this is because of contradictions in the political system and many countries are not capable of doing so. Arming the entire people is the best defence system for a state but it is only possible when there is a social system like that in north Korea, where the leader and the people constitute an integrated whole, and material prerequisites exist.

An instance whereby the superiority of defence by the entire people was displayed can be seen in the history of Koguryo. Beside the standing army, the entire people in Koguryo had the tradition of practising the military arts, in the spirit of being armed at all times. In case of emergency, people, young and old, men and women, rose up in defence of the country. Koguryo long prospered as a big, strong country, beating back repeated invasions by the Han, the Wei and the Yan, and by four intrusions of the three-million-strong troops of the Sui between 598 and 614. This is ascribable to Koguryo's policy of simultaneously promoting civil and military services and to its being armed at all times.

Kim Jong Il pointed out that the merit of an all-people's defence system lies in that it arms all the people militarily together with the People's Army to defend the country, not only in the front zone but everywhere in the country, so that all the people will rise up to beat back invaders in case of emergency.

When an all-people's defence system is established it is possible to beat back the enemy at once whenever and wherever he may attack, and staunchly defend the country and the gains of the revolution.

Modern war is a three-dimensional war. There is no clear distinction between front and rear, and from the onset of war the whole country is turned into a battlefield.

The invincible might of an all-people's defence system lies in that it makes it possible to wage modern war effectively.

Victory in revolutionary war is not decided by arms and technology but depends on the ideological preparedness with which the people fight the

enemy and on how bravely they fight, and ultimate victory can be won only when the regular army and the entire people fight the invaders at the risk of their lives, arms in hand. The arming of the entire people means carrying out the mass line in national defence and is the essential requirement in self-defence, of the Juche idea.

An all-people's defence system is the embodiment of the principle of self-defence in national defence and originates in the valuable experience gained in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

An all-people's defence system is a reliable defence system whose superiority was proved in defending the guerrilla zone during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

Forming paramilitary organizations such as the Anti-Japanese Self-defence Corps, the Young Volunteers' Army and the Children's Vanguard, the brilliant commander of the anti-Japanese war, General Kim Il Sung, established the system whereby they defend the guerrilla zone, arms in hand, alongside with the guerrillas while farming at the same time.

They defended the guerrilla zone for four or five years in difficult circumstances, fighting Japanese troops incomparably superior numerically and in arms and equipment, because the people in the guerrilla zone, young and old, men and women, fought as one man.

In 1933, the Japanese imperialists conducted "scorched-earth operations" scores of times a day, throwing in large numbers of troops equipped with the latest weapons, and sending in planes in an attempt to annihilate the guerrilla base of Xiaowangqing. Red Guards, the Anti-Japanese Self-defence Corps and the people in the base fought in the same trench alongside the guerrillas, and carried munitions and food. Among them were a gray-haired eighty-year old man who fought the Japanese, rifle in hand, and a woman who thrust her bayonet into the breast of a Japanese officer, and a boy who fought the Japanese troops with the hand grenades the anti-Japanese guerrillas had made themselves.

Kim Jong Il said that the battle for the defence of the guerrilla base of Xiaowangqing was a battle won by depending on an all-people's defence system for the first time in history.

He said, "It is a priceless summing-up of the history of war and truth that when army and people fight life-and-death battles in the same trench under the leadership of a distinguished leader they can defeat any enemy however strong and emerge victorious."



Based on an accurate analysis of the war history of the world, Kim Jong Il defined the civil armed force along with the regular army as an important component part of national defence, and he vigorously pushed ahead with arming the entire people with the intention of turning the whole of north Korea into a fortress like Xiaowangqing.

The Worker-Peasant Red Guards of north Korea constitute the core of the civil armed force. The Worker-Peasant Red Guards whose basic mission it is to defend the socialist homeland while carrying on production and training under the slogan, "A sickle or a hammer in one hand and a rifle in the other!" are organized everywhere—in factories, enterprises, cooperative farms, and state, economic and cultural establishments. The Worker-Peasant Red Guards of north Korea formed by the well-ordered military system are known to number several million.

Kim Jong Il has seen to it that the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards are equipped with high-powered arms, and that their military and technical qualifications have been improved.

He energetically pushed ahead with the implementation of the line of simultaneously carrying on the building up of the economy and defences, following the '60s, saying, "There must be a lot of arms to arm all people. We suffered from the lack of arms in the Fatherland Liberation War. But now our country has the solid foundation of an independent economy and the wherewithal to provide the entire people with rifles. Nowadays in our country it is fully possible to arm the entire people." As a result, an independent war industry in north Korea grew fast and, already in the '70s, high-powered automatic firearms and anti-aircraft guns are said to have been supplied to the Worker-Peasant Red Guards.

Kim Jong Il stressed the need to raise the standard of training for the Worker-Peasant Red Guards to the level for regular army men, and the need for the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards to be proficient in using their weapons and possess excellent marksmanship. He said, "We should learn how to shoot a rifle and how to fight the enemy and steadily intensify training as the people in the guerrilla zone did in the past anti-Japanese revolutionary war. Only then can it be said that all the people are armed."

One year he visited a firing range for the Young Red Guards. He attended a live firing exercise, explained good marksmanship and set an example himself. He shattered five glass bottles from 50-metres away out of the ten

bottles hung from the branch of a tree in rapid fire, even seemingly without taking proper aim. He then rapidly put the pistol in his left hand and shattered the remaining five bottles at the same tempo. Looking round at the officials accompanying him and the Young Red Guards who were admiring the marvelous marksmanship by which he unfailingly shot with his left hand the shaking small targets difficult to shoot even with right hand, he said that one must be practised in shooting with the left hand as well as with the right, because the right hand might be injured in fighting. Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards prepared a training ground for shooting practice and aiming drill in factories, farms and other places and went in heart and soul for shooting practice. As a result, all young and middle-aged men have become crackshots. A Laotian high-level military delegation which visited north Korea several years ago greatly admired the hundred girl Young Red Guards who received the "Excellent" mark at a shooting range, and said, "Their marksmanship is wonderful. Young girls shoot a little better than our regular army men." If they had learned that all those who took part in the national live bullet firing contest of Worker-Peasant Red Guards held that year, received highest mark "Excellent", their admiration would have been several times greater.

Kim Jong Il energetically pushed ahead to implement the policy of fortifying the whole country like Xiaowangqing.

He said, "If the entire people are put under arms, and the whole country is turned into an impregnable fortress, our country will become like a hedgehog. Just as any ferocious beast cannot attack the hedgehog whose whole body is covered with sharp bristles, so the enemy won't dare to pounce upon us if the entire people are armed and the whole country is fortified."

The history of war in the world shows that the position of military bases in military activity and war and their significance have been stressed, and strenuous efforts have been made to fortify them. However, from the point of view of defence it is difficult to find an ideal fortress and, moreover, the idea of fortifying the whole country could not even be conceived.

How then have fortifications throughout country been built by Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il?

He saw to it that impregnable defence tunnels were built everywhere at the front, along the coasts and inland, by making the whole country copy the experience of tunnelling Height 1,211 at the time of the Fatherland Lib-

eration War. Even after a passage of over forty years, trees do not grow and what one takes up in one's hand is not soil but iron powder on Height 1,211, which was a fierce battlefield during the June 25 war. Merely the People's Army defended Height 1,211 to the end in fierce battles because they depended on fortified tunnels. Tunnels warfare is unique. Trench-oriented warfare not mentioned in the military manuals of any country. Tunnels can safely protect men, and combat and technical equipment, from the enemy's nuclear weapons, airforce and artillery fire. According to his plan, fortification of the whole country means making the country like Height 1,211.

Fortification of the whole country has been successfully carried out owing to his energetic guidance and the strenuous efforts of the north Korean people.

As a result, viewed from the standpoint of military defence, today's north Korea can be said to look like a hedgehog.

That is why no superpower dares to provoke it. The United States, which has crushed countries in Central America and the Middle East in a trice by displaying its enormous military might, cuts a poor figure before north Korea, like a "beast of prey" which is helpless before a hedgehog.

In north Korea the regular armed forces of the People's Army and several million Worker-Peasant Red Guards and Young Red Guards depending on the impregnable fortifications are stoutly defending the people-centred socialism with faith in sure victory.

### 3) Unity between the Army and the People

Unity of the army and the people is the mental and moral characteristic of the Korean People's Army and one of the prominent features of the society of north Korea, which has been turned into a big family. Relations of unity between the army and the people are essential in establishing an all-people's defence system.

Ancient books on military science and successive military theoreticians say a great deal about the relations between officers and men and that between the army and the people as mental and moral characteristics of the army.

But it can be said that only the Korean People's Army has achieved a completely integrated whole of the army and the people, taking the attitude of the army towards the people as the criterion for defining the character of the revolutionary army and as vital military discipline.

The north Korean army whose mission it is to defend the people-centred socialist system, and which is composed of the sons and daughters of the people and called the people's army finds its root in the traditional sucheminded view on the people. The view holds that the army has no possibility to exist apart from the people, just as fish cannot live out of water.

Relations between the army and the people can be defined by the class character and mission of the army. A revolutionary army is a genuine people's army composed of the sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and the other people, and they fight in the people's interests. Such an army inevitably shares life and death with the people because it is so closely linked with them.

But although the armies of socialist countries are called people's armies, the relations between these armies and the people are not like that in north Korea. The matter boils down to the thinking and commanding ability of the commander of the army.

In his writings, including *Unity of the Army and the People Is the Fine Tradition of the Revolutionary Army*, Kim Jong Il stressed first forging close ties between army and people is the fine tradition of the People's Army and is essential for defeating the enemy; secondly, an army isolated from the people is like a tree deprived of its roots or like fish out of water; thirdly, the People's Army should become an integrated whole with the people and not of floating on water or fish out of water, and he warned against the army regarding itself as being in a special position which requires the relations between the army and the people.

In the '90s, socialism collapsed in different countries, and the imperialist allied forces increased as never before moves to blockade and strangle north Korea. General Kim Jong Il, who assumed the heavy responsibility of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the chairman of the National Defence Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in compliance with the unanimous will and expectation of the whole army and the entire people, launched a nationwide movement to give full play to the fine tradition of unity between the army and the people.

He sent letters of gratitude to the units of the People's Army and to various establishments, enterprises and people from all walks of life that fully displayed the fine characteristics of unity of the army and the people, and publicly commended them.

Kim Chang Hwa, an ordinary housewife in Jangphung County, Kaesong City, gave her blood to wounded soldiers, sent animals she had raised to the troops, and thus continued to assist the army in all sincerity for 15 years.

Kim Jong Il sent her a letter of gratitude for having done an excellent job, calling her "sister of the army."

The north Korean people take care of and love the army men like their sons and daughters or their brothers and sisters, and the army men respect and follow the people as they do their parents or brothers and sisters. When the army men see a broken-down fence while passing through a village, they roll up their sleeves and mend it. When they see a drowning child, they rescue it at the risk of their lives. Such fine traits of unity of the army and the people have become commonplace everywhere in north Korea.

The movement for winning the title of "exemplary county in unity of the army and the people" initiated by Kim Jong Il is a mass movement involving people from all walks of life and officers and men of the People's Army to strengthen the main agents of revolution and consolidate the all-people's defence system.

He named Jangphung County, Kaesong City, long known for rendering good assistance to the army, as the first "exemplary county in unity of the army and the people" and urged the entire country to follow its example.

Recognizing a valuable bud of unity of the army and the people when the teaching staff and students of Masan Senior Middle School in Wando District, Nampho City, rendered good assistance to the army by forming a relationship with the army men of a People's Army unit, which they called "our school-our post" or "our post-our school",<sup>2</sup> he saw to it that this example was widely publicized and copied. As a result, a campaign for "our post-our village", "our post-our factory", "our post-our farm" and "our post-our school" was vigorously launched. The army and the people cultivated the fields, built reservoirs and bridges and did laudable jobs in a concerted mass movement, and this is said to have given rise to "army and

people's field," "army and people's reservoir" and "army and people's bridge" in different places. The custom of assisting People's Army men both materially and morally is flourishing in all establishments, enterprises and all other units, ranging from central establishments to people's neighbourhoods, in the stream of the movement to win the title of "exemplary county in unity of the army and the people."

1. The title of "exemplary county in unity of the army and the people" is a title of honour which the Central People's Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea awards to city, county or district for setting a distinguished example in assisting the People's Army.
2. The movement for "our post-our school" is a movement for unity of the army and the people which is formed between the army and school and between teaching staff, students and army men. The school calls the related unit of the People's Army "our post", while the unit calls the school "our school". Army men take care of young students as their younger brothers, furnish laboratories for them and extend their playgrounds. Students visit army units, taking articles of comfort, and entertain army men with performances.

The fine trait of unity of the army and the people is widely displayed among the People's Army men, too.

Months and number of days for assisting in the countryside are included in the annual activity plan of the units of the People's Army. The sight of the People's Army men transplanting rice seedlings, weeding and harvesting on farms in the busy farming season, and building the West Sea Barrage, Thongil Street, Chongryu Bridge, Kumnung Bridge and other welfare facilities as buildings of lasting value presents an impressive picture of unity of the army and the people, a unity rarely seen in any army in the world.

The fine trait of unity of the army and the people constantly displayed among officers and men of the People's Army and the entire north Korean people is an unprecedented social trait displayed only under the unique socialist system of north Korea, where one sociopolitical organism has been established with the peerless Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il as the centre. In essence, it means the politico-ideological unity of the army and the people centring on the leader. Iron-firm faith and will to support the Supreme Commander with loyalty link army and people with blood relations. No force in the world can tear down the fortress in which every soldier in the entire army is prepared to be equal to a hundred foes, in which the entire people are under arms, the whole country is fortified, and the



army and the people constitute an integrated whole, closely rallied behind General Kim Jong Il.

## 2. Brilliant, Ever-Victorious Commander

### 1) He Is Possessed of Both Intelligence and Boldness

From olden times resourcefulness and bravery were called the qualities of famous generals.

It is common knowledge that the famous generals whose names are recorded in history were all bold. But a famous general like Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il, who has unexcelled boldness and nerve, is peerless.

The primary qualities characterizing his personality are an enterprising and bold spirit, a strong nerve and a strong will.

Generalissimo Kim Il Sung commented on the Herculean features of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il: "Comrade Kim Jong Il has the nerve and boldness befitting a general. I like his hero-like nerve, enterprising spirit and will to annihilate the enemy."

The Gulf War broke out in the Middle East in January 1991, and the mass media reported that the flames of the Gulf War might at any moment spread to the Korean peninsula, where the south Korea-US joint military exercise, "Team Spirit 91", was taking place.

General Kim Jong Il made the chief of the general staff of the Korean People's Army visit Cuba as prearranged without cancelling or postponing his visit, although the situation was tense. When the general staff of the People's Army suggested to him that he should postpone the military delegation's visit to Cuba in consideration of the tense situation, he resolutely said, "It should not defer its visit to Cuba but depart as planned. I trust our people and the People's Army which are united behind the Party and the leader with a single heart. If the US aggressors dare to attack us, they will not return alive."

The chief of the general staff of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces who came to Havana airport to meet the north Korean military delegation

shook his hand and expressed his admiration, "We thought the Korean missiles could not come because of the very tense situation. That this high level military delegation has come as far as the Western hemisphere shows the unusual boldness of Korea."

Over ten thousand wars fought from olden to modern times were, in the annals, battles between military strengths and, at the same time, competitions of boldness and resourcefulness between military commanders. That is why resourcefulness and boldness have been regarded as qualities essential for any famous general.

Kim Jong Il is the famous general among famous generals who is possessed of both unexcelled boldness and unusual military intelligence, and one cannot win a battle without strategy. Sunzi says that when one knows the enemy and oneself, one does not fear a hundred wars. When talking about proficient strategists from olden times Zhuge Liang has been acknowledged to be number one. When fighting, he well knew the strong and weak points and characteristic temperament of the enemy and saw into the enemy's mind and, on this basis, he drew up his strategy, and consequently used to win battles. He could apply such strategy and superb tactics because he was possessed of unusual perspicacity, ample military knowledge and outstanding ability to put it into action.

Ancient wars were fought in such a way. The idea of waging three-dimensional modern war put on a scientific basis without military knowledge in that even he conceived.

Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il is possessed of encyclopaedic military vision excelled by none. He read books on military science of all ages and all countries before he was in his twenties.

He is not only versed in all spheres of modern military science, including strategy and tactics, but has also made a deep study of the strategy and tactics of famous generals in the world, and made a deep analysis of victorious wars and of failure in lost battles.

Whenever the United States and south Korean authorities have conducted large-scale war exercises, including the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, General Kim Jong Il dealt with the situation favourably, taking the initiative, with versatile strategic and tactical responses.

The following event took place when the "Team Spirit 80" joint military exercise had nearly reached its height.

When the south Korea US allied armies were conducting provocative exercises near the forefront, Kim Jong Il suddenly deployed units of the People's Army to the demarcation line zone in grand manoeuvres. Flurried by these unexpected manoeuvres, the south Korea US allied forces side made a to-do in hastily going over to combat emergency from training emergency, fearing that some state of emergency might take place. As a result the operational plan of the 'Team Spirit' exercise was upset at once and the exercise fizzled out at an important moment.

Informed of this state of affairs, Kim Jong Il had a hearty laugh and said that it seemed that the enemy went over to combat emergency from training emergency because he had judged the manoeuvre exercise to be the manoeuvres of units to form attacking groups.

Kim Jong Il's strategy can be said to be ever-changing and, at the same time, flexible.

In July 1977, he visited the outpost in Panmunjom and mounted the observation platform of Panmun Pavilion. The officials there doubled the number of guards. Seeing such movement in the post of the People's Army the south side, too, immediately doubled the number of armed men and went on the alert. Thus a very tense atmosphere was created between the two sides within the joint security area. Officials teased up at such an unexpected situation. But he who was observing the movements of the opposite side unperturbably told a commanding officer beside him to withdraw half of armed men of the north side. At this the official was embarrassed. It was difficult to conceive even the idea of reducing the number of armed men by half when it was impossible to foresee what might happen and when.

General Kim Jong Il, smiling calmly repeatedly told the official, who was a loss and who hesitated, to do so. Thus, when the number of armed men of the People's Army decreased by half, the US army side withdrew their additional armed men. Some time later, he again told the officer to increase the number of the armed men. When this happened, the opposite side did not do likewise probably because they felt ashamed as if they were being fooled by the People's Army. Thus the tense atmosphere at the post became relaxed. His strategy, which kept the opposite side on the defensive by one or two moves, was the superb, flexible strategy he applied by seeing into the enemy's mind.

His unusual military intelligence is clearly proved by keen insight into an accurate analysis of the characteristic features of modern war.

While guiding the modernization of weapons and equipment of the units of the People's Army in the '80s, he analysed the extent to which combat forces should be introduced, their number and the oil situation in the world and he characterized modern war as "oil war". Since all combat equipment and facilities and men are transported from place to place not a single step can be made without oil and war without oil is inconceivable.

Truth or principle is evident to everyone and simple when it is discovered. However, not all are aware of the significance of characterizing modern war as 'oil war' for the modernization of the weapons and equipment of the People's Army and the stockpiling of strategic materials.

In the past bullets and shells were fired shot by shot because weapons were not developed, whereas now they are fired in rapid succession as long as there are stock lasts, so in modern war, victory or defeat depends on who stores more bullets and shells. In this sense modern war can be said to be a "shell war", he said.

His new terse formulation of the characteristic features of modern war is famous and has enormous practical significance.

As mentioned above, his military intelligence is outstanding because of his extensive military knowledge. He is versed in tank, air, artillery, and naval warfare, in communications, military engineering and defence fortifications, all theoretically and practically.

The following event took place one summer day when he was on a visit to a certain airfield. Ten minutes before he landed the weather station made known an emergency forecast that low rain clouds would cover the sky over the airfield and torrential rain and lightning were expected. The situation was pressing. Before long the sky darkened all around pressed by the sudden weather change, the flight commanders were in a hurry. At this Kim Jong Il took over the command himself. He made the plane come in from the south not from the north as had been arranged originally, and communicated the directions for turning, speed and altitude to the plane, and came out on to the airstrip. The flight commanders followed him. In the northern sky over the airfield lightning was already flashing and a downpour began. Only one corner of the southern sky was clear, and a dark spot appeared there. It was a plane. Some time after, the plane landed.

safely and almost at the same time it thundered, and lightning flashed over the southern sky, too. A moment's delay would have brought serious consequences.

Such is the Supreme Commander of the People's Army Marshal Kim Jong Il. He is a famous, versatile general who is possessed of unexcelled boldness, unusual intelligence, profound military knowledge and other qualities essential for the military man.

## 2) Military Strategy of Turning Misfortune into a Blessing

History does not know the like of the truce on the Korean peninsula, which has lasted for over 40 years, with armies several million strong confronting each other.

People in the world call that confrontation "bloodless war". This means strategic and tactical confrontation of military leaders of both sides which stand facing each other. In other words, it is an acute strategic confrontation of Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il and the Pentagon.

In the mid-1970s, the United States aggravated the situation on the Korean peninsula to the extreme, while frequently instigating armed provocations against north Korea.

According to a statement issued by the north Korean side, the US troops and the south Korean army launched armed provocations over 23,800 times in 1974, and 28,150 times in 1975, and have conducted the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, a nuclear war exercise aimed at the invasion of north Korea from 1976.

Kim Jong Il summoned a high-ranking cadre of the Ministry of People's Armed Forces one day in 1976 when the situation was becoming tense from moment to moment due to the "Panmunjom incident".

"The People's Army should maintain full combat preparedness and keen vigilance and watch every movement of the enemy to counter the moves of the US and the south Korean side. Nevertheless there is nothing to be surprised at. The enemy's moves to provoke a war show his vulnerability but not his might," he said.

Then he, taking him along, went to a lake in the suburbs of Pyongyang City. He cast a line into the lake and some time after spoke of his intention

to mobilize the People's Army men for building projects in Pyongyang City.

The military cadre was taken aback by his unexpected remark, which had nothing to do with military affairs. Later, he recalled that he had had the conviction that "We have already won" in the confrontation with the enemy, and had been filled with joy at having the most brilliant commander ever known.

At that very moment, the US military leaders were perhaps holding a meeting of war in the Pentagon to map out an operational plan of "retaliation" against north Korea.

There was difference between Pyongyang and Washington.

The General remained unperturbed although the United States aggravated the situation by extending the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise to take place every year. Rather, he responded to the provocative war moves of the United States and the south Korean authorities by undertaking grand socialist construction. This is well shown by his boldness and self-confidence in calling out units of the People's Army to build the West Sea Barrage, a grand nature-remaking project from 1981 to 1986.

When the "Team Spirit" military exercise started, the United States mobilized over 40,000 of the armed forces. In the 1980s, it threw an enormous armed force of 200,000 and the latest military equipment into the "Team Spirit" military exercise.

In view of the fact that the US imperialists and south Korean army attacked north Korea with an armed force of over 100,000 at the time of the June 25 war, an armed force 200,000 strong is more than a big armed force capable of waging a big war. At such a time, in the spring of 1981, General Kim Jong Il called the chief of the general staff of the Korean People's Army to his side. The chief was tensed up, because he had a premonition that he was going to get an important combat order.

Kim Jong Il said, "I called you not because of military affairs but because the Party has decided to entrust the People's Army with building the West Sea Barrage as instructed by President Kim Il Sung. Do you think you can do it?" Thus, the People's Army undertook building the lock gate one of the biggest in the world.

The building of the West Sea Barrage was, in the light of the then prevailing situation, like waging a war without the sound of gunfire. There was an enormous volume of work to be done, including difficult underwater



work. Kim Jong Il responded to the enemy's moves to provoke another war with a grand construction for taming nature.

His boldness emanated from confidence in his strength and faith in the certainty of victory, and these were based on the fact that he knew the enemy and himself. This resulted in the wonderful reality which turned misfortune into a blessing.

The acme of the battle of brains of the Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il was the proclamation of the semi war state in response to the "Team Spirit 93" joint military exercise. The general again humbled the United States before the world by skillfully commanding the "15 days' war" without the sound of gunfire.

The general had already humbled the pride of the US imperialists by superb strategy at the time of the *Pueblo* incident.

On January 23, 1968, the 1,000-ton class US armed spy ship *Pueblo*, equipped with the latest electronic equipment, was captured by a ship of the navy of the Korean People's Army in north Korean waters off Wonsan. US President Johnson threatened north Korea with military retaliation by sending an enormous armed force, while misleading world public opinion by alleging that the ship was seized by force on the open sea.

When a tense war-threatening situation was created and the world closely watched the Korean peninsula with uneasy eyes, General Kim Jong Il worked out the strategy for shattering the enemy's attempt to "retaliate" by taking the initiative at the prompting of President Kim Il Sung.

The general made the captain of the *Pueblo*, the research officer, the operations officer, the wireless eavesdropper and others write confessions without delay and had them published. It was an intelligent ploy to bind the hands and feet of the Washington authorities. When the materials which proved their criminal acts were made public to the world, the US authorities lost all excuse to justify itself. The secret of the information collection system of the US CIA was exposed. As a result, Congress, the Department of Defense and the Department of State were thrown into utter confusion.

The general then saw to it that the sailors of the *Pueblo* sent open letters to their President. In these, they requested that the President see to it that the United States sincerely apologize to north Korea, since the truth of the *Pueblo* incident had been exposed to the world, and guarantee that such an act would not be repeated. They made it clear that if their request was not acted on they could not return.

These open letters coming as they did when the presidential election was nearing put Johnson in a tight corner.

When the United States would not apologize for their criminal acts because of its "prestige" and "honour", which had fallen to the ground, the general sent a ultimatum that all sailors on the *Pueblo* would be committed to a military trial.

The United States which could not find any other excuse in face of the general's superb strategy fell on its knees and put its signature to the written apology. "The Government of the United States of America... shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the US ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea... and gives firm assurance that no US ships will intrude again in future into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

It was the first battle of brains against the United States which the young general still in his twenties had won.

The "Team Spirit 93" joint military exercise started at the beginning of 1993, and the pressure of nuclear inspection can be said to have been another battle of brains against the United States fought by Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

With the end of the Gulf War, the United States worked out a "120 days' war" scenario and threatened north Korea, saying, "The second Gulf War will be against Korea" and "It will last 120 days, because Korea is stronger than Iraq". Finally, the United States began grand manoeuvres, proclaiming the "Team Spirit 93" joint military exercise. New-type fighter planes laden with nuclear weapons, warships, and various means for a nuclear strike were massed and deployed on the Korean peninsula and in the surrounding waters, and an armed force over 200,000-strong was mobilized from the US mainland and from US army bases in Guam, Hawaii, Japan and other parts of the Asian and Pacific areas.

At the same time, the United States attacked from the flank by instigating the International Atomic Energy Agency to put the pressure of "nuclear special inspection" upon north Korea.

The situation on the Korean peninsula was strained to breaking point. The world was filled with suspense and closely watched north Korea which stood at the crossroads of war or peace, of confrontation or compromise. The world's people who had just observed the Gulf War were apprehensive.

hensive as to whether north Korea alone could overcome the difficulty while opposing the imperialist allied forces led by the United States.

General Kim Jong Il was self-confident and maintained complete composure in face of this unparalleled difficulty.

When the several hundred thousand of the enemy were filling the sky, land and sea, he called up an official of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces and asked about the progress of the project of the Victorious War Memorial which was being built to commemorate the 40th anniversary of victory in the war.

"Although the victorious war memorials in different countries where socialism had collapsed were pulled down by reactionaries, we must erect our victorious war memorial higher and more magnificent for all to see," he said.

In north Korea are the heroic people who defeated the one-million-strong Japanese army and the allied army of 16 countries led by the United States, the People's Army equipped with modern means of attack and defence, whose every soldier is the equal of a hundred foes, and most important, the mighty single-minded unity of the leader, the Party and the people and the enormous force of the army and the people linked closely to each other, generally speaking, north Korea with such invincible strength can annihilate any enemy at one stroke—this is the general's faith and will.

General Kim Jong Il resolved to avert the danger when the situation had become strained to breaking point with a battle of brains supported by a mighty armed force.

Not even one bomb shall drop on the three thousand ri extent of our country, lest all the creations in the socialist homeland which the predecessors shed their blood to produce and the people erected with much effort be damaged and the valuable and worth-while life of the people be harmed. For this purpose we should fight and win with our brains and not with bullets and shells, such was the general's will.

The strategists at the Pentagon calculated that Pyongyang, however proud it might be, would meekly give way if the encirclement was narrowed down by a dreadful military threat and the pressure of "nuclear inspection". But it was a miscalculation. They failed to calculate the strategy of the military genius, General Kim Jong Il.

On the instructions of the President, the United States has long since set up and run the "K.I.I. Institute" which studies the strategy of General

Kim Jong Il.

But it is public knowledge that General Kim Jong Il's versatile strategy cannot be judged by a computer.

Finally, on March 8, when the situation reached a climax, he issued the Supreme Commander's Order No. 0034 which placed the whole country, the entire people and the whole army on a semi-war footing.

The Supreme Commander General Kim Jong Il thus dealt successive heavy blows at the United States which was dazed, but in a tender spot.

On March 12, the north Korean government issued the statement that it was quitting the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty as a measure to defend the supreme interests of the country. The world was surprised. Seeing that the country small in territory and population in comparison with the United States was cocking a snook at the latter, the world exploded in thunderous repercussion.

A shock of terror issued from the United States. The assistant undersecretary of the Department of State in charge of the East Asia and Pacific area said: "It is difficult to foresee what strike north Korea would deal to the United States because it is a peculiar country strong in unity and military strength." The Defence Minister of France remarked, "North Korea is quite different from Iraq. With the seasoned President Kim Il Sung, north Korea has the army and the people that have been well knit in military strategy for over 40 years." When the March 12 statement was issued, an Australian radio station reported, "The present confrontation shows the acme of the leadership art of the leader of north Korea. The tacticians of north Korea are guided by Mr. Kim Jong Il and without a doubt he is a world leader. Even omnipotent and omniscient God cannot follow all the operations of north Korea."

When the United States concluded the "Team Spirit 93" military exercise ahead of schedule in face of the resolute response of north Korea, General Kim Jong Il on March 24 ordered that the semi-war state be rescinded.

It is recorded in history as the "15 Days' war" without the sound of gunfire. Conveying the report of the Supreme Headquarters of the Korean People's Army concerning the rescinding of the semi-war state, the N.H.K. broadcast of Japan said "Secretary Kim Jong Il demonstrated to the whole world that with the removal of the semi-war state this is a strongly independent country which is fully prepared for combat" and stressed, "This dis-

played the leadership ability of the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army."

The 15 days of the north Korea-US confrontation, with the north on a semi-war footing, is regarded as a model case of the battle of brains which demonstrated to the full the greatness of the military strategy of the respected Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il.

Admiring voices are raised in political and military circles of the United States concerning the military intelligence and the superb battle of brains waged by Supreme Commander Kim Jong Il. It must be noticed that the praise and high opinion of Kim Jong Il are undeniable proof of the greatness of his military intelligence and strategy.

Without a doubt it is a great fortune for our nation that the peerless general and the great hero of national defence was born in our country as the leader of the nation, so guaranteeing the safety and prosperity of the nation.

## VII. Lodestar of the Nation

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## 1. Full Embodiment of National Independence

### 1) The Juche-Oriented Outlook on the Nation

Everybody is born as a member of the nation, shares his destiny with the nation and makes history, led by his leader. Therefore the leader's outlook on the nation exerts a great effect in shaping the destiny of a member of the nation.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il possesses the Juche-oriented outlook on the nation.

Outlook on the nation implies one's opinion and viewpoint of a nation and one's attitude to solving a national problem.

Outlook on the nation differs according to the ideas it is based on.

The Juche-oriented outlook on the nation is based on the man-centred Juche idea. The previous outlook on the nation was the bourgeois one which defended the interests of the capitalist class, or the Marxist-Leninist one which championed the interests of the working class.

Regarding the nation's independence as its life and soul, the Juche-oriented outlook on the nation insists that the whole nation should be united to realize and defend its independence and to make it prosper.

This gives us a new view of a nation.

Most of the past views of a nation, which presupposed the formation of the nations in the European capitalist countries, failed to give correct answers to this question in the third world countries which did not follow the normal course of capitalist development.

The reality of the era of independence, in which social transformation is carried out in the nation-state, demanded the establishment of a new outlook on the nation to deal with national problems with Juche-oriented outlook.

The following happened when Kim Jong Il was a student at Kim Il Sung University.

One autumn day in 1960, during a lecture on Korean history, there was an argument on whether or not Koreans overseas could be considered a part

of the Korean nation, since the Marxist-Leninist classics said that only when the following conditions—common language, territory, economic life and psychology manifested in culture—were met could the people constitute a nation.

In those days, scholars who dogmatically accepted the existing theories held that the Korean nation had been formed either in the 18th century when Korea was in the initial stage of capitalist development or in the period of Japanese imperialist colonial rule or even after liberation on August 15, 1945.

Kim Jong Il criticized their dogmatic view based on the Marxist-Leninist classics and said that the basic indexes of a nation are homogeneity of bloodline, a common language and a common territory. In particular, that bloodline and language are the most important in defining a nation, and that a nation is a solid group of people who are united with homogeneity of bloodline, language and territory.

He went on to say that Korean nation has long lived in one territory, inheriting the same bloodline and speaking the same language, and it is a nation with a history of 5,000 years and with a splendid culture, and that expatriates, too, belong to Korean nation. A nation is a cohesive group of people that was formed historically and the largest unit of social life. A nation is not formed or broken up easily by a change in the social system. The formation of a nation conditions the appearance of social classes and strata. Even in a classless society the nation still exists. If one's bloodline and language are same, one belongs to one and the same nation, even though one's ideology, ideas and territory are different. This is his outlook on the nation.

Our nation is a homogeneous nation descended from Tangun that has inherited only one bloodline for 5,000 years. Such a phenomenon is rare in the world.

Homogeneity of bloodline is the most important characteristic of a nation.

If we regard a common economic life as the main mark of a nation as held by previous theories, our fellow countrymen who live under the different economic systems of north and south Korea should be divided into a "bourgeois nation" and a "socialist nation", and several million Korean expatriates could not be regarded as part of our nation.

Viewed from this angle, Kim Jong Il is the benefactor who has identi-

fied all the people in the north and south and the several million expatriates as belonging to one and the same nation.

Language is another important factor defining a nation.

Of the several factors defining a nation, territory and culture may be altered, but the homogeneity of bloodline and a common language cannot be changed.

Since the people of north and south Korea have inherited the same bloodline and speak the same language, even though they have lived in different territories and under different economic conditions for more than 50 years since the country's division, they have a feeling of affinity and friendship.

A common territory is not the same as the territory ruled by state power.

The territorial definition of a nation means the land where fellow countrymen of the same bloodline and speaking one language have lived the lives from generation to generation. The territory of a national community might be occupied by foreign forces, but it cannot be lost, even a subject nation cannot abandon the land where their forefathers have lived.

The main territory of Koreans is the land of 3,000 ri. (One ri is 400 metres) where they have lived for 5,000 years. 3,000-ri means the total length of Korea's territory.)

This land remained our nation's home in the 41-year period of Japanese colonial rule and cannot be land owned by Americans because they have occupied the southern part of our country for half a century. It is our nation's living-space and nest today and will be forever in the future as in the past.

A common culture needs to be viewed by taking bloodline and language as the common features. This is because the character, mentality and consciousness of a nation are unthinkable apart from communities based on blood and language.

As seen above, Kim Jong Il's definition of a nation based on one's blood and language is correct and scientific.

Kim Jong Il gave a wise answer to the question of our nation's formation.

Criticizing the dogmatic view which fixed the time of the formation of our nation to the development of capitalism, he said:

"Our people is a homogeneous nation who have inherited one bloodline, language and culture in one territory from olden times, and it is a wise

nation with 5,000 years of history, a brilliant culture and splendid traditions."

The question of a nation's founding is a basic one for the theory of the nation and is the starting point to systematize a nation's history.

The Korean nation was not formed in modern society in the course of capitalist development. Our compatriots long lived in one territory having one blood, language and culture, and in the course of history they became a single nation. The beginnings of the nation's formation can be seen in clan society. With the emergence of the state, the clan became a special group existing in a certain region. In due course this developed into a nation. This is a brief summary of his view on the formation of our nation.

His Juche-oriented view of the features of our nation and of its formation presents a compass for people who were in the past obsessed with blindkeyism and dogmatism to use their own brains and think independently about national questions.

Kim Jong Il emphasizes that, according to the Juche-oriented outlook on the nation, independence is the core of a nation's life and existence.

As a man without independence can be likened to a dead man, so a nation which has lost its independence cannot exist or develop. This is common knowledge. Therefore the question of a nation's destiny is directly linked with that of the nation's independence. The nation's independence is its essential nature and life and soul. The destiny of a nation is determined by whether the nation is independent or not and by how it realizes and defends its independence. In order to live and develop independently, every nation defends its national character, traditions and spirit and desires its unity. In this way, the spirit of national independence runs through the Juche-oriented outlook on the nation. This is Kim Jong Il's view.

To promote the national independent spirit one should possess national dignity and revolutionary pride. If one lacks national dignity and believes that one's nation is inferior to others, and if one lacks pride in the revolution, one cannot truly live independently and one is unable to defend national independence and dignity. This is also part of Kim Jong Il's faith.

Kim Jong Il, the hero, the like of whom has not been seen in this century, said:

"A nation with a strong sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride is unconquerable, but a nation without these attributes is powerless."

The people of small countries who long suffered oppression by foreign

forces must have a strong sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride. Since national nihilism and flunkeyism towards big powers are deep-rooted among them due to the imperialist policy of assimilating colonies and obstructing their national culture, small countries must pay special attention to enhancing a sense of national dignity and revolutionary pride, he emphasized.

Flunkeyism is an attitude peculiar to slaves serving and worshipping big great powers and developed countries, and nihilism means looking down upon one's own country and nation and despising them. If a person falls into flunkeyism, he is a fool; if a nation is servile to great powers, the country will go to ruin; and if a party is subservient to great powers, it will make a mess of the revolution and construction. This is what he teaches Government and Party officials.

The flunkeyist tendency of the ruling class of the successive feudal dynasties hindered national development greatly, left aftereffects and, in the end, ruined our country.

Even today, the south Korean ruling circles' worship of and kowtow to America is preventing great national unity and the country's independent reunification. Therefore, the throwing-off of flunkeyism is the main factor in attaining national independence and the independent reunification and prosperity of the country.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il, the chief advocate of national independence, has developed to the full the theory of the Juche-oriented outlook on the nation and embodies that theory.

## 2) Establishment of the Juche-Oriented Outlook on National History

Dear leader Kim Jong Il has achieved colossal merits in defending and promoting the spirit of Juche of the nation. And first among these achievements is way he has corrected our national history on the basis of independence.

At the beginning of the 1960s, he explained the Juche-oriented and people-centred outlook on national history and gave the key solution to the fundamental problems arising in writing the history of the nation.

In those days, the academic history circles scored good results in com-

paring and systematizing our national history scientifically, but the flunkeyist and dogmatic way of thinking of some historians created obstacles.

Seeing through this, he taught them that the important thing in studying history is to have a Juche-oriented methodology. And he filled in the blank pages of the history and corrected historical facts which had been distorted or inverted by flunkeyists in the past.

First he saw to it that the Juche-based light was shone on the question of the Paleolithic Age in our country. Whether or not our country existed in the Paleolithic Age is an important question relating to our nation's dignity, purity and identity. In other words, it was an issue on whether our country's long history and its originality were recognized or not.

Some scholars in the archaeological society insisted that people from the Paleolithic Age had migrated to this land from a neighbouring country in the Neolithic Age, on the ground that Paleolithic relics had not been discovered here.

Kim Jong Il exposed the unreasonableness of this argument: "It is entirely wrong to conclude that our country did not go through the Paleolithic Age. They said that some foreigners emigrated to Korea in the Neolithic Age. If the question is viewed that way, we have to come to the conclusion that the Korean nation are the descendants of foreigners. We cannot say that our country did not go through the Old Stone Age. What about the facts that the remains of a mammoth were discovered in the area of Hwadae (Myongchon) in North Hamgyong Province and that relics of the Paleolithic Age were unearthed in northern neighbouring areas which are colder than the land of our ancestors? That tells us that our country, too, had gone through the Paleolithic Age, and that people lived there in that time."

His extraordinary and scientific anticipation that relics of the Paleolithic Age would be discovered without fail in our country has been turned out to be true by many archaeological discoveries.<sup>1</sup>

1. The remains of Komurkwa discovered in Sangwon County, Pyongyang City, in 1966, belong to the early period of the Upper Paleolithic Age of 600,000-400,000 years ago, those unearthed in Tachyon-dong, Ryokpho District, Pyongyang City, in 1966, those discovered on Mt. Sunga in Tokchon City, South Phyongan Province in 1972, those discovered at Sophobang in Sonbong County (Today's Rajin-Sonbong City), North Hamgyong Province, in 1963, and the cultural relics from the first and second strata belong to the middle and late periods of the Paleolithic Age respectively.



Thus the starting point of our nation's history goes back to the early period of the evolution of human beings, and the long history of our nation's emergence and development and its originality display its splendour.

His scientific solution to the question of the formation of the first unified state of our nation also has ideological-theoretical merit.

The issue of the unification of the Three Kingdoms was a very important one answering the questions: when did the first unified state of our nation appear? and how should we set the main stages of our nation's history? The "theory of the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla" was the unquestioned "established theory" for about 800 years from the time when the *Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* was written by Kim Pu Sik, a Hankeyisi historian of Koryo in the mid-12th century.

One day in October, 1960, there was an academic seminar on Korean history at Kim Il Sung University. "The unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla and its historical significance" was conventionally emphasised, and the role played by Kim Chun Chu and Kim Yu Sin was highly appreciated here.

Kim Jong Il, basing himself on the Juche-oriented view of history, emphatically said that the theory of the "unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla" should be reexamined. That day he presented his classic work *On Re-examining the Question of Unification of the Three Kingdoms*, which caused a great sensation throughout the history world. In his treatise he overturned through profound analysis the existing view, which had become hardened like a fossil over many centuries, and logically explained the question of establishing the first unified state from the Juche angle.

He maintained that Silla had defeated Paekje and Koguryo in coalition with the Tang aggressors, but that Silla had failed to establish a unified sovereign state in our country.

He scientifically proved that the unified state was not established by Silla by citing the following historical facts. Silla occupied the southern area of the Taedong River after defeating Koguryo and Paekje, but in the territory of Koguryo, which was several times larger than the Silla-occupied regions, Palhae was established by the surviving members of Koguryo led by the Koguryo General Tae Jo Yong. Thus the two

sovereign states—Palhae and Silla—existed in the former territory of the Three Kingdoms.<sup>2</sup>

2. Palhae, founded in 698, conquered most of the former territory of Koguryo and demonstrated its might as a prosperous state in the East for over 200 years. Palhae was the successor to Koguryo and its people regarded their state with great pride. In letters sent to other countries, Mu and Mun, Palhae Kings in its early period, wrote that Palhae was a state that had restored Koguryo and that they were Koguryo's Kings. The fact that two sovereign states coexisted on the one territory proves that the theory of the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla does not accord with the facts.

He continued, "Palhae, a strong sovereign state established on the land of Koguryo by the survivors in Koguryo, inherited the culture of Koguryo and made a great contribution to repelling successive aggressions by the northern neighbouring countries and to safeguarding the country and the people so, I think, Palhae and Silla should be treated together in writing our country's history from the end of the 7th century to the beginning of the 10th century".

He also illustrated the principal reason for the Silla's failure to unify the Three Kingdoms. He said, "Silla did not intend to unify the Three Kingdoms to make it a strong unified state, and was not even capable of doing so. The ruling circles of Silla only had the ambition to expand their territory by invading Paekje and Koguryo." To prove this he put forward the following facts: Kim Chun Chu of Silla defeated Paekje and Koguryo in coalition with the Tang and then betrayed the nation by concluding a traitorous secret treaty with the Tang, which stated that Silla was to control only the area south of the Taedong River, and the Tang was to occupy vast regions of Koguryo territory north of it. Later when the people of the Three Kingdoms waged struggles against the Tang in various parts of the country after the Silla-Tang alliance was broken, Silla did not attempt to unite the territory and the people of the Three Kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

3. In 648, Kim Chun Chu of Silla visited the Tang Emperor and secretly promised him that after the defeat of Paekje and Koguryo he would cede the area north of the Taedong River to the Tang. King Munmu, the son of Kim Chun Chu, when the people of the Three Kingdoms in 671 rose against the Tang, sent a letter to the chieftain of the Tang invaders saying that Silla intended to maintain its rule only in the regions south of the Taedong River.

Kim Jong Il insisted that the "theory of the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla" should be reexamined and, at the same time, the historical events and persons relevant to it be reviewed. It is also reasonable that the war fought by Silla against Paekje and Koguryo must be regarded as an aggressive war and that Kim Chun Cha, Kim Yu Sin and other rulers of Silla be branded as traitors to the nation, who left our territory and people to the disposal of foreign aggressors.

He went on: "It was only Koguryo among Koguryo, Silla and Paekje that had the intention of uniting the Three Kingdoms by its own strength, and made steady efforts to do so." He proved this with historical facts. He explained that the Koguryo people had high national spirit and were free of flunkeyism, and added that if there had been neither aggression by the Tang from the north nor betrayal by the Silla rulers in the south, Koguryo would surely have united the Three Kingdoms to become a powerful unified state.

Koguryo set the unification of the Three Kingdoms as its major policy and pushed ahead with this in close relation to the struggle against the aggression by neighbouring countries. As a result, Koguryo once conquered most of the territories and people while Paekje and Silla occupied only some areas. Truly Koguryo had led the struggle to unite the Three Kingdoms. Nevertheless the Koguryo people's struggle to unite the Three Kingdoms was frustrated due to the aggressive manoeuvres of the rulers of Silla and the Tang.

Kim Jong Il remarked that Koguryo's desire to unite the nation was fulfilled by Koryo which was founded at the beginning of the 10th century and that the name Koryo was derived from Koguryo. Thus, he showed that in studying our nation's history, we should centre it on Koguryo.

As seen above, he threw light on the mainstream of our nation's history from the Juche angle and cleared away the remnants of flunkeyism and dogmatism which had lingered in the minds of some historians.

He not yet in his twenties, wisely pointed out the unscientific character of the "theory of the unification of the Three Kingdoms by Silla" which even prominent historians regarded as established theory. This was really a special achievement that could be scored only by a genius gifted with original thinking and an inquiring mind.

Also Kim Jong Il cast light on fundamental questions arising in our historical research including those concerning the historical development of primeval society, the ancient states and the features of feudal society in our

country, thereby making a great contribution to the evolution of the Juche-oriented theory of history.

When an argument arose over the formation of a slave-owning state in our country, he also stressed that whether or not a slave-owning state had existed in our country was not a simple academic problem but quite a serious one having a bearing on whether or not one recognized our nation's time-honoured traditions and the natural process of social development of our country. Thus he helped historians to discard their flunkeyist and dogmatic views and treat history with the independent approach so neutralizing the harm done by the distortion of history of the Japanese historians.

Later historical research and the discoveries of historical remains showed that ancient Korea was the first slave-owning state in our country, and that Puyo, Jinguk and Kuryo, which were the neighbouring countries of ancient Korea, were also slave-owning states.

North Korea published the *Complete History of Korea* in 34 volumes that rearranged and systematized the whole of our national history scientifically and based itself on the Juche-oriented stand and methodology. This also is attributable to Kim Jong Il's good eye for history, his knowledge that proved wider than that of the historians, his energetic scientific research and his guidance.

Kim Jong Il was deeply concerned with solving the questions of our ancestors' origin and the beginnings of our national history.

In response to his instruction, the archaeologists carried out extensive work to unearth primeval remains. As a result, they discovered the remains of primitive man and fossil bones of palaeolithic and neolithic man in the Pyongyang area, thereby proving that the Korean peninsula is one of the cradles of human beings and that our people is a homogeneous nation having its origin in this land.

True to the lofty idea of the great leader Kim Il Sung, who wanted to find Tangun as the founder-king, as told down the ages as a myth, Kim Jong Il took infinite pains in excavating Tangun's tomb, so that our nation is now known to be a homogeneous nation with Tangun as the founder, a nation with a 5,000-year-long history and a brilliant culture, and inheriting the same broodline.

In the days of the bloody anti-Japanese war, President Kim Il Sung planted the seed of patriotism in the hearts of our compatriots, saying that our nation is a resourceful, homogeneous one with 5,000-year-long history

He assigned the historians the task of deepening research into Tangun and of excavating his tomb.

To tell the truth, some historians knew that Tangun's tomb was located in Kangdong County of Pyongyang, but little thought of excavating it, since they had not rid themselves of the bad effect of the flunkeyist historical outlook, and they regarded Tangun as a mythical being.

On the instructions of President Kim Il Sung, the father of our nation, the archaeologists started to excavate the tomb of the father of the nation, and unearthed the bones and relics of Tangun. That was a great success for our national history.<sup>3</sup>

According to the "Report on the Excavation of the Tangun Tomb" presented by the Academy of Social Sciences in October, 1993, the bones of Tangun were scientifically proved to be 50.1 years old. It also was verified that Tangun was a real man who was born in Pyongyang and who established ancient Korea, and it is well known that our nation is an intelligent one that entered the era of civilization in the earliest period in the East and inherited a single bloodline. Pyongyang the capital of the ancient Korea became a holy place in our nation.

This was not only a wonderful discovery, which was an outcome of the outstanding guidance of President Kim Il Sung, who had extraordinary wisdom and foresightedness.

President Kim Il Sung said that the Tangun-find was a great victory in our archaeological world, and he was very pleased with it. Though in his eighties, he personally visited Kangdong and saw to it that the tomb was splendidly rebuilt in the best place at the foot of Mt. Taebak. Even two days before his death he examined the final plan for the construction of the tomb.

Thanks to Kim Jong Il's hard effort and meticulous research, Tangun was proved to have been a real person and the Tangun's tomb was reconstructed as a national asset.

Kim Jong Il provided the archaeologists with all the conditions for excavating the Tangun's tomb and for their research and saw to it that they worked out the age of Tangun by relying on advanced science and technology.

In order to materialize the President Kim Il Sung's lofty idea for the reconstruction of Tangun's tomb, Kim Jong Il instructed that the "Committee for Restoration of Tangun's Tomb" should be organized, and took

and wide measures to amass huge funds and materials for the building of the tomb. Under his guidance, and as the great leader Kim Il Sung desired before his death, the Tangun's tomb was magnificently reconstructed to suit the spirit of ancient Korea, which was a strong and prosperous kingdom in the East. And so it demonstrates our nation's long history and oneness, and will fill the coming generations with national pride.<sup>4</sup>

4. The Tangun's tomb is situated at the foot of scenic Mount Taebak in Kangdong County, Pyongyang City. The stone tomb, occupying an area of 45 hectares, is 22 metres high and each side of its square base is 40 metres long. Built with 1994 granite blocks and with two stone doors, each weighing 1.2 tons. In the coffin chamber, two ginseng cures on a stone base contain the remains of Tangun and his wife. Since tiger is a the four corners of the tomb area, and finely executed four stone tables for dagger portraying the *Pipha*-shaped dagger symbol of ancient Korea, and figures of Tangun's four sons and of his ministers stand around the tomb. In front of the tomb are the monuments to the rebuilt tomb of Tangun and to King Tangun's services, all of which will make known from generation to generation the achievements of President Kim Il Sung and the respected Kim Jong Il who discovered the father of the nation and glorified him.

On the initiative of Kim Jong Il a grand inauguration ceremony for the Tangun's tomb was held, arousing great attention among the Korean people and of foreigners in early October 1994.

Kim Jong Il inspected the tomb of Tangun on October 29, 1994. He said that great President Kim Il Sung had discovered Tangun as our nation's father, he who had long been a mythical figure, and had his tomb reconstructed flawlessly so that we are able to pass down the long history of our fatherland and of the nation's wisdom from generation to generation. He added that this was a happy and epoch-making event for our nation. He took special care over the maintenance of the tomb and of the national cultural relics, saying that no damage should be done to the Tangun's tomb since it is a national treasure.

Kim Jong Il has made a great contribution to inheriting and developing national cultural relics, too.

He published his classic *On Properly Evaluating and Treating of the Cultural Heritage of Our Nation with a Correct Viewpoint and Attitude* in March 1970.

He ensured that the excavation, rearrangement, protection and restoration



of our nation's superb cultural heritage should be managed in a state-of-the-way and thus added lustre to our long national history and demonstrated our nation's merits. In addition he had the tombs of the state founding fathers of Koguryo and Koryo restored as part of our precious historical cultural heritage to be handed down to the generation to come.<sup>5</sup>

5. The tomb of King Tongmyong was grandly rebuilt in Ryokpo District of Pyongyang City in 1993. As first, the tomb of the founder-king of Koguryo, a powerful and prosperous state in the East for over 1,000 years. The tomb is 11.5 metres high, and each side of its pedestal is 32 metres long. Stear tigers stand on both sides of the tomb, eight stone figures in front of it and eight stone horses behind it. The 150-hectare area contains a memorial hall and four tombstones. The Jongrung Temple and its seven-tiered pagoda were rebuilt. In front of the tomb stands a granite monument which bears a replica of President Kim Il Sung's handwriting that reads, "Monument to the Reconstruction of the Tomb of King Tongmyong". The tomb of the founder-king of Koryo, Wang Kon, was rebuilt in January, 1994 at the foot of Mount Songak in Kyesong City. Around the tomb, built of blocks in three tiers, stand the stone figures of civil officials and warriors who rendered distinguished service at the period of unification of the Three Kingdoms, a gate to the tomb and a memorial hall. The hall displays Wang Kon's portrait and pictures showing the struggle of the Koryo people. In front of the gate to the tomb there stands a monument bearing a replica of President Kim Il Sung's handwriting that reads, "Monument to the Rebuilt Tomb of Wang Kon, Founder-King of Koryo".

All the volumes of the *Royal Chronicles of the Ri Dynasty* and *Complete Collection of Buddhist Scriptures* printed from 80,000 wooden blocks was fully translated, and literary collections, classic literary works and many medical books, including *Complete Collection of Traditional Koryo Medicine* and *Uibangryuch* were collected, compiled and translated. These results are attributable to Kim Jong Il's concern and strenuous efforts.

By virtue of the Kim Jong Il's wise policy the national cultural heritage that reflects our national spirit and wisdom will now go down the ages more satisfactorily.

### 3) The Korean-Nation-First Policy

The respected leader Kim Jong Il, who embodies national independence, is the personification of national dignity. He advocates putting forth

the Korean-nation-first idea and fully displays it.

One day in January, 1986, he spoke about enhancing the national pride of our people. Without having national pride one can do nothing. Lacking it one cannot love one's nation and believe in one's own strength. If one is to be faithful to the revolution in one's own country, one should, first of all, love one's nation and hold it dear. This is his lofty aim in upholding the banner of the Korean-nation first idea.

Kim Jong Il said

"The Korean-nation-first idea, in a nutshell, contains the sublime ideological sentiments that express one's dignity and one's pride in the Korean nation's greatness, and one's strong sense and will to add lustre to it."

Our-nation-first idea, does not in any way mean that we should look down on other nations, and emphasize the good points of our nation alone.

Our country has neither a large population nor a large territory nor is it an economic superpower. We have no reason to despise and shun other nations. Every nation has creative wisdom and ability. Chauvinistic patriotism that looks down on other nations is inherent in fascism and the tendency to dominate others.

The Korean-nation-first idea is connected with respecting and trusting other nations.

Kim Jong Il explained the grounds whereby our people are able to have high sense of national pride.

Our people from the beginning of human history developed a splendid national culture and took an independent path of development, and we have inherited resourceful national traditions and acquired a superb nationality.

Whenever foreigners invaded our country to blot out our nation's sovereignty and nationality, our people valiantly repulsed them and defended our nationality and were not assimilated by other nations.

Thanks for the Juche-oriented revolutionary cause initiated by President Kim Il Sung a great change was brought about in the work of carrying forward and enhancing the nationality of our people.

The anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle was a heroic struggle that fully displayed the greatness of the Juche idea and our people's national wisdom.

Our compatriots' outstanding nationality was shown in the June 25 war when they defeated the United States, and in their creativity and construc-

tion after the war. The national character was clearly displayed in the history of grand creations of the north Korean people who built up on the ruins in a short period a mighty socialist country - independent, self-sufficient and self-defended. Of course, this is one of the reasons that enabled the north Korean people to have their nation-first idea. Other nations, too, have their pride: pride in their beautiful land or in advanced technology or in having a large territory and large population. But if a nation is to have pride in the nation-first idea it must have conspicuous features to boast of in the main sphere of social life.

Kim Jong Il said:

"Our people can be proud of our nation as the best in the world. This is because they have a great leader and the wise leadership of the great Party and the great Juche idea and the most advanced socialist system."

In the era of independence, when the popular masses have emerged as masters of their destiny, the key factors deciding the destiny of a nation are the leader's leadership, the guiding ideology that the nation should take as a compass and the social system in which the nation lives and works.

The Korean-nation-first idea embodied by the north Korean people is, first of all, the pride of having a great leader held in high esteem.

Only when a nation has an outstanding leader can it have a guiding ideology which illuminates the true path to follow, strengthen the independent force of the nation and successfully carry out social revolution and construction.

The greatest blessing for a nation is to be led by an outstanding leader.

Thanks to having President Kim Il Sung as a great leader for the first time in their several-thousand-year history, the north Korean people were able to put an end to national misery, enter a new, prosperous age and become an independent people shaping their own destiny, a glorious people who defeated two imperialist powers and who show to the world the model of socialism.

The Korean nation-first idea embodies the people's boundless glory in eternally having Generalissimo Kim Il Sung, the sun of humankind, as their father leader and in having the respected leader Kim Jong Il, the successor to the Juche cause, as their outstanding leader.

The north Korean people are also proud of Korean-nation-first spirit in being led by the great Party of the Juche type.

The Workers' Party of Korea which was founded by Kim Il Sung and is

led by Kim Jong Il is the first Juche-type revolutionary Party guided by the immortal Juche idea.

The WPK has scored immortal achievements in carrying out the Juche cause and enjoys the unanimous support of the popular masses. It is a mature, seasoned and invincible party which has become united into a steel-strong body and accumulated rich experience. This is generally how the north Korean people understand the WPK. They think that they can overcome any difficulties and are always able to advance along the victorious path and defend national dignity and sovereignty in any storm and stress by virtue of the WPK.

The Korean nation-first idea is also pride in having the immortal Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il said:

"Just as a man's worth is defined by his ideology, so the greatness of a nation is determined by the greatness of its guiding ideology."

A country's development and the prospects of a nation depend on its guiding ideology. Only people led by a great guiding idea are able to become a nation with a high degree of pride which can create a brilliant history.

The Juche idea put forward by President Kim Il Sung and developed and enriched by Kim Jong Il is the guiding ideology for the era of independence and the revolutionary idea. That is why the progressive people of the world praise the Juche idea as an "immortal idea to shape the destiny of mankind", and praise north Korea as the "fatherland of Juche".

The north Korean people in their struggles have taken the Juche idea as their single guiding idea and thus have been able to free themselves from flunkeyism and dogmatism and fully display the nation's independent spirit. They have also wrought miracles by bringing about social changes and carrying on construction, relying on their own strength in accordance with their independent creed.

The Korean-nation-first spirit is also pride the people feel in living under the best, people-centred socialist system.

Under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Kim Jong Il, the north Korean people have embodied the Juche idea, and have built a superior socialist, people-centred society.

The people-centred, Juche-oriented socialist system demonstrates its unshakable might even in the circumstances when the former Soviet Union

and Eastern European socialist countries collapsed because of the imperialists' "strategy of peaceful transition" and the counterrevolutionary schemes of the modern revisionists, and north Korea shines as the "model of socialism" and as the beacon of hope for the world's people. This is the north Korean people's greatest pride in living under the most superior, Juche-oriented socialist system.

As seen above, our nation-first idea comprises "our-leader-first idea", "our-Party-first idea", "our-ideology-first idea" and "our-system-first idea".

When we look back on our 5,000-year-long history, we see that Kim Jong Il is the greatest man who holds our resourceful nation dear and promotes national pride to the full, holding high the banner of the Korean nation-first idea. He has upheld this banner because he is a genuine patriot cherishing great love for the nation.

His views are: a genuine communist loves his country and people and holds his nation dear more than anybody else; a man, lacking affection for his fatherland, cannot make revolution; a man who is ready to sacrifice even his life for his motherland is a genuine Korean revolutionary.

Kim Jong Il has said that our people have strong national feeling because they have the great Juche idea, the idea of national independence, and he emphasizes that to strengthen our nationality it is necessary to inherit folk traditions and to preserve Korean good manners and customs.

Our folk customs are unique, preserved as they have been by our homogeneous nation with its single bloodline, and they reflect our people's character and emotions.

He has seen to it that the people adapt the folk customs to suit the aesthetic taste of the times and the socialist way of life, and that good morals and manners flourish. As a result, today, the people are very proud of wearing our graceful national dress, and traditional folk games are widely played.

He encourages the national cuisine to give variety to our diet and to enhance national pride. He even promotes a national dish to teach the people to have pride in being the T'angun nation.

The following happened on December 22, 1981

He called some close attendants to his side and said that he had summoned them to share *Tongji* gruel with him because it was the winter solstice. (This is made of red beans with rice dumplings and is traditional fare at the winter solstice.)

He said that red-bean-gruel goes well with piquant-tasting radishes pickled in brine. It should be seasoned with salt, and one has to eat as many of the small dumplings (made of glutinous rice) as one's age. He continued that we should never forget the good customs and manners handed down by our forefathers. Like this he is fully possessed of national sentiments.

When a building or a street is built, Kim Jong Il directs that it should display traditional beauty and national merit. He sees to it that even a park is laid out in accordance with the customs and sentiments of life inherent to our nation, and that in speaking and writing our own language is used extensively.

It is fully thanks to his national independent character and wise leadership that the north Korean people possess strong national independent consciousness, think and act in their own way and defend their nationality and their dignity.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il is truly the symbol of the nation and the embodiment of national independence.

## 2. Patriotic View of Reunification

### 1) Lofty Will of Reunification

The struggle for reunification to put an end to the country's 50-year-long division and to join up the bloodline of the nation is very difficult and complicated.

It is a matter of course that an outstanding hero stands in the van to advance the sacred and great cause. Today the respected leader Kim Jong Il, the lodestar of the nation, stands in the van of the struggle for reunification.

The hopes of the nation are placed on him. The people say with one voice that just as Generalissimo Kim Il Sung, the father of our nation, liberated the fatherland, so Kim Jong Il will bring about the great unity of the nation.

In the 70s, when Kim Jong Il was appointed successor to the cause of Juche he said:



"I always think of only one Korea. I have never thought of two Koreas even for a moment.

"Korea is like an organic body that can live only when it is an integrated whole and cannot be truly alive if it is divided.

"Korea is one forever, not two. 'Korea is one'—this is my firm conviction."

His remarks are very meaningful, full of love for the motherland and the nation. His desire and will for reunification have grown since he was very young when the country was first divided. He then said:

"When I heard about the 38th parallel in my childhood, I thought it temporary, not eternal.

"Often hearing our leader's words full of anxiety for our divided country, I was determined to reunify the country as soon as I grew up to please our leader.

"How sad he was at the news that the country was divided when he returned home in triumph, with the joy of the country's liberation. He fought in the Paektu Mountains and in the wilderness of Manchuria for over twenty years to bring the spring of liberation to the 3,000-ri fatherland!

"The map of the motherland that the leader looked at, lamp in his hand, in the secret camp on Mt. Paektu was the 3,000-ri land of Korea that stretched from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla, not a Korea split in two."

As we recall the past, Generalissimo Kim Il Sung, who led the great anti-Japanese war, that heroic epic to victory and liberated the country, devoted all his precious life to overcoming the nation's disasters and pains arising from the division of half a century.

What Kim Il Sung kept in mind when he left Mangyongdae with the great ambition to liberate the fatherland was the 3,000-ri land stretching from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla, not split rivers and mountains.

Kim Jong Il, who took over the worries of the President, became more determined than ever about reunification as the years of division went by. He said that it is the national task for our generation to reunify the country, we who were blessed with national liberation because of the efforts of our great leader, the generation who are directly suffering from the pains of division.

He said

"We inherited one country from our ancestors. If our generation hands down two Koreas to the next generation, it will be a great crime against the nation and against history.

"In other words, if we hand over a divided Korea, no one will be able to hold up his head before our ancestors and posterity."

He regards national reunification as the most patriotic task, and so he never forgets the pain of division even for a moment, the pain that the all fellow countrymen suffer.

One day in early July, 1977, on his way to giving on-the-spot guidance in the Kaesong area, he visited a village near the military demarcation line.

He climbed a hill behind the village and said, "Looking over at the south, I'm more anxious than ever to see our compatriots in the south."

The villagers north of the Rumin River have many relatives in the neighbouring southern part, and it is the same for the villagers in the southern part. That place is full of the sorrow of national division. On May Festivals and the Harvest Moon Festivals or on birthdays of family members they go to the riverside and call out their kinsmen's name. This is the sufferings and sorrow not only of the villagers near the demarcation line but also of all compatriots, caused by the division of the country.

Reunification is the sacred cause that he assumed before Generalissimo Kim Il Sung. It also is the national task dear to all Korean people. One day when the 1950s was nearing its end, President Kim Il Sung said to Kim Jong Il that he had accomplished the national liberation that he, Father Kim Hyong Jik had longed for so ardently and that another task for him was to reunify the country as soon as possible, adding that he was very sorry that, though now aged 70, he had failed as yet to reunify the country.

Kim Jong Il solemnly vowed to direct all his efforts to reunification, so as to meet the President's expectations.

He said

"National reunification is my mission. It is my urgent task that I assume as our leader."

He regards reunification as the supreme task and great historical mission assigned to him by President Kim Il Sung and by the people.

I will take charge of reunifying the country and carry it out at all cost.

This is the loyal, determined and lofty will of Kim Jong Il, the great son of the nation.

His will to reunify the country grew stronger after Generalissimo Kim Il Sung's death. Though the Generalissimo had poured his heart and soul into the work for reunification since the first day of the territorial division, to his great regret he did not see the day of reunification.

The reunification issue is always placed in the centre of all Kim Jong Il's thinking. He said:

"It is important for us to work thinking always about reunification. We must think of reunification whenever we wake in the morning and go to bed at night.

"Our minds should be fixed on reunification. You must think of helping reunification even when you are building a factory, and you also should think of increasing the assets for reunification when you have a bumper crop."

His thinking, daily life and activities are bound up with reunification, the long-cherished desire of our nation.

The complete realization of national unity and independence is the most valuable thing for him.

When the unity of the whole nation is attained and the country is reunited, the death-bed injunctions of Kim Il Sung and the national desire will be met.

Kim Jong Il is convinced that reunification will come about.

A man of strong belief and will naturally loves the future. Nothing is impossible for such a man. The greatest task for us is to reunify the country. Truly reunification cannot be postponed any longer. The struggle for reunification is arduous, but it is also a job to be done by people. Nothing in the world is impossible for man. We advocate the people-first theory, people-centred theory. Such is his faith and will for reunification.

He declared: "The dawn of reunification is surely breaking. The motive force to bring about the morning of reunification is our wisdom, will and strength.

"Nothing is impossible for a man of strong will. The man who loves the future has only possibilities. If something is impossible, then these are not Korean words."

For Kim Jong Il, the embodiment of faith and will, nothing in this world is impossible. No force can break his sacred will to gratify the wish for

reunification that President Kim Il Sung could not gratify in his lifetime, and his lofty faith to meet the earnest desires of the whole nation.

## 2) Patriotic Reunification Programme

The beloved leader Kim Jong Il advanced the Juche-oriented reunification programme in order to dispel the dark cloud of national split, territorial division.

He made clear the essence of our country's reunification, basing himself on the principle of the Juche idea.

"Our people's struggle for the country's reunification is, in essence, the fight against the domination by and interference of foreign imperialism and to defend the national sovereignty."

Independence is the life and soul of a nation and country. National sovereignty means that the members of a nation are responsible for the national destiny and they should have the right to solve this question by themselves.

Today our national sovereignty is violated by the foreign forces occupying south Korea. Therefore, activities for promoting reunification involve a struggle to oppose foreign domination and interference and to achieve the national sovereignty in all parts of the country.

The tragedy of our national division is clear proof of the notorious crimes of the imperialists who want only to interfere in the destiny of other nations so as to realize their aggressive ambitions. Today, nothing can be a more important and pressing task for our nation than ending the tragedy of national division and linking the bloodline of our nation. The reunification issue is one relating to the destiny of our compatriots and to the life of our nation. This is his Juche-oriented view of reunification.

He firmly maintains that the country should be reunified through the confederal system, based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments.

The principle for reunification should be to establish a unified national state, leaving as they are the different systems and governments existing in the north and the south.

The establishment of an independent unified confederal state can be accomplished only when we rely on this principle.<sup>6</sup>

6 In the prevailing circumstances overtures for the so-called "two states into two systems" logically goes against reunification. At the present stage reunification into "one state and one system" is also logically impossible. Reunification based on "one nation, one state, two systems and two governments" alone is a shortcut, a rational proposal for independent peaceful reunification.

Kim Jong Il has stated that the reunification programme comprises the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and reunification through a north-south confederation proposed by President Kim Il Sung.

Kim Jong Il said:

"Our Party consistently maintains that the country must be reunified on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity by founding a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, leaving the ideologies and systems of north and south as they are."

Thus proposal is a great programme for reunification that President Kim Il Sung put forth at the historic Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and that Kim Jong Il adheres to consistently.

The gist of the proposal is to reunify the country by founding a Confederal Republic through the establishment of a unified national government on the condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideologies and social systems, a government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy with equal rights and duties.

It envisages that in a unified state of the confederal type, a supreme national confederal assembly should be formed with an equal number of representatives from the north and the south and an appropriate number of representatives of overseas nationals, this assembly should also set up a confederal standing committee to guide the regional governments of the north and the south and to administer all the affairs of the confederal state.

It also plans that the unified confederal state should be a neutral country which does not join any political-military alliance or bloc. Kim Jong Il said:

"Our proposal for reunification is a fair, reasonable and realistic plan that meets the principal demands and interests of our nation and also accords with the principle of peace and national self-determination, which are recognized internationally, and that is acceptable to both north and south."

His words are very persuasive.

The proposal for founding a unified confederal state makes it possible for people belonging to various classes and strata with different ideologies, political views and beliefs under the different social systems to tolerate each other and to set up a unified independent country.

As he has said, the independence of a country and nation is a precondition for realizing the independence of the popular masses. Only when the independence of a country and a nation is realized, can the independence of the members of the nation be realized. Since classes and strata are a part of a nation, the existence of a nation conditions existence of classes or strata, and national interests are great interests, whereas those of a class or stratum are small interests.

The proposal enables us to achieve reunification by relying on the demand and strength of the nation. The country's reunification is a great cause leading to our national independence and its agents are our nation itself. Nobody can reunify the country in our stead. Reunification can be achieved only relying on the united strength of all compatriots and on the basis of the national ideal.

The plan for reunification excludes the "theory of unifying systems" <sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The "theory of unifying systems" is the "theory of unification by absorption" through the amalgamation of systems" (It means merging the different systems existing in the north and the south) and leads to fraternal confrontation and war. Its products are the "theory of democratic unification through national conciliation" and the "plan for unification of a one-nation community", and the like initiated by the US rulers and advocated by the south Korean rulers. The so-called "unification based on liberal democracy" is no more than a variety of "unification by prevailing over communism".

Under the prevailing conditions where the different systems have existed in the north and the south, our country cannot be reunified by "amalgamation through absorption", the way one side swallows the other.

The plan for the establishment of a unified confederal state was advanced as a result of the wishes for nationwide conciliation, unity and peaceful reunification. Therefore, Kim Jong Il resolutely maintains, "Though the country's reunification is very dear to us, fratricidal war is intolerable; there can be neither northward nor southward invasions; neither prevailing over communism nor communization, to achieve reunification."

For the Korean people who had long lived harmoniously, inheriting as they have a single bloodline, speaking one and the same language and



developing their brilliant national culture, the common national features that were formed and cemented through the 5,000-year-long history are greater than differences in system or ideology which are temporary and due to the country's territorial division.

Furthermore, the demand of national community to reunify the country into one nation is more important for the people than the interests of a class or a stratum. So, the only correct way to dispel the dark cloud of national division and reunify the country as soon as possible is to put the overture for reunification through the confederal system into effect.

Kim Jong Il has expressed his flexible stand and magnanimity by stating that if the south side finds it difficult to accept the plan for the establishment of a unified confederal state, reunification through the confederal system could be undertaken gradually the way the regional governments are tentatively given more rights, and the functions of the central government could be extended in the future.

He holds up the banner of great national unity to put the reunification programme into effect.

Great national unity is the strategic policy that he had consistently adhered to ever since he has stood in the van of the reunification movement.

The independent, peaceful reunification of the country is inconceivable apart from our nation's great unity. Great national unity is the basic prerequisite for and constitutes the essentials for independent peaceful reunification. The most important thing is to make our nation united. This is the consistent view of Kim Jong Il who embodies the idea of great national unity put forward by the great leader Kim Il Sung. Kim Jong Il therefore insists that everybody who is worried about the fate of the nation and wants to establish a unified pan-national state, be united into one and same nation on the basis of patriotism and the national independent spirit, so transcending all differences to open the way to reunification, regardless of whether he lives in the north or in the south or overseas, whether he is a communist or a nationalist, whether he is the haves or the have-nots and whether he is a theist or an atheist.

He hopes that the workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, urban petty-bourgeoisie, conscientious national capitalists, men of religion, army-men with patriotic aspirations and politicians will make colourful contributions to the reunification of the country, regardless of whether they live

in the north or in the south or abroad.

He says that a short cut toward fulfilling the earnest wish of our nation is to carry out the "10-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country" that President Kim Il Sung has put forward for the establishment of a unified confederal state.<sup>8</sup>

8 The 10-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country is not only a plan for national unity but also a great programme for our nation that President Kim Il Sung announced at the Fifth Session of the Ninth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK on April 6, 1992. It explains in full the major ideological basis, fundamental principles, and basic ways and means to promote great national unity.

The efforts of all compatriots for national reunification join the mainstream of the present times in aspiring after independence. The moves of the partitionists who go against this historical stream will inevitably suffer shameful defeat.

### 3. Guidance in the Work for Reunification

#### 1) Standing in the Van of the Reunification Campaign

In the 1940s our people suffered the tragedy of territorial division of the country, and since then they have traversed the thorny path leading to reunification, and in the 1970s, they met Kim Jong Il as the lodestar of reunification.

Thanks to the hard efforts of President Kim Il Sung, a breach was made in the dividing barrier, and with the agreement at high-level political talks between north and south to issue a joint statement, a new vista was opened for reunification. But Park Jung Hee who tried to use the north-south dialogue to maintain his power distorted the joint statement and delayed its publication, putting up the "step-by-step theory".<sup>9</sup>

9 The Park Jung Hee clique, who rambled on about "construction first, unification after" peace first, unification after" held that unification might be discussed in the next century through a "humane stage" a "non-political stage" and a "political stage". The

"theory of stages" is nothing but anti-unification logic aimed at perpetuating the country's division.

Such being the situation, the north-south joint statement went through twists and turns until the day of its announcement.

It was Kim Jong Il who played a conspicuous role in removing the obstacles and making the joint statement, a truly great programme for reunification.

With uncommon wisdom and leadership, he wisely led off to make the three-point principle—Independence, peaceful reunification and national unity—the hard-core of the joint statement, and carefully improved even the wording of the draft joint statement. Thus the north-south joint statement was completed and put forward as the national independent reunification programme.

This historic north-south joint statement was made public simultaneously in Pyongyang and Seoul on July 4, 1972. At the sensational news, all the compatriots of the north, the south and abroad seethed with excitement, and the land was enveloped in a hurricane of reunification.

The political parties and social organizations of north, south and overseas issued statements and talks supporting the joint statement, and the world public focussed on the Korean peninsula. All the Korean people inside and outside the country shouted for joy, saying it was a "bright gleam of reunification", "a thaw in the divided, frozen land" and compared this historic event to their excitement when the country was liberated on August 15, 1945.

But the whirlwind of joy and excitement was short-lived. The day after the publication of the 'July 4 joint statement' the White House announced that "though the south and the north hold a dialogue, the modernization of the ROK army is to be pushed ahead and it has no plan for the reduction of the U.S. Army Forces in Korea."

At the same time, the Park Jung Hee and Kim Jong Phil clique danced to the tune of their masters, making absurd remarks such as "we cannot forecast our destiny in a statement composed of a few sheets of paper and are unable to believe in it," "we are now switching from confrontation without dialogue over to confrontation accompanying dialogue." It was made clear once again that the main obstacles to independent reunification were the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, the traitors to the nation.

In this situation, Kim Jong Il made clear that the July 4 joint statement was a historic milestone in the work of speeding up reunification.

The three-point principle for national reunification is the crystallization of the wishes of all Koreans. Therefore, it is the foundation stone for solving the reunification problem. The road leading to reunification should be firmly based on this principle. This is his view and will.

From the beginning of the north-south contact he has made efforts to improve the talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and the south, to succeed by removing possible obstacles. Seeing through the delaying tactics of the south Korean authorities, he led the preliminary talks to full dress talks without delay, while actively pushing ahead with the north-south talks. As a result, the 'North-South Coordinating Commission', the standing joint organization of the nation, was formed with the representatives of the two sides met in Pyongyang and Seoul to carry it out. With this movement the south Korean people of various strata raised their voices calling for north-south reconciliation, free travel and peaceful reunification.

Intensified at the rapidly mounting reunification spirit after the publication of the July 4 joint statement, the Park Jung Hee clique defined the "two Koreas" policy as their state policy and made public national division with a "special statement" of June 23, 1973.

In this rapidly-changing situation Kim Jong Il strove to carry out the five-point policy for national reunification outlined by President Kim Il Sung, and opened a wide avenue to reunification, so crushing the moves of the imperialists who were opposed to reunification.

The five-point policy for national reunification is a national salvation programme put forward in the historic speech 'Let Us Prevent National Partition and Identify the Country' delivered by President Kim Il Sung on June 23, 1973. The gist of it is as follows. First, to stop military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south; secondly, to bring about multilateral collaboration and interchange between north and south; thirdly, to convene a Great National Congress composed of representatives from all walks of life and representatives from political parties and social organizations in north and south; fourthly, to set up a north-south confederation under the name of a single country; and fifthly, to enter the U.N. as a single state under the name of the Confederate Republic of Korea.

Kim Jong Il viewed the convening of a great national congress as the key factor to solve the reunification problem and took active measures to

bring it into being. In July of that year, an appeal was published by the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland to convene such a great national congress where representatives of people of all walks of life and representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north, south and abroad are to be present. The proposal evoked deep sympathy among the people of various social strata, the public and religious organizations.

Kim Jong Il took a wise measure to strengthen international solidarity for the struggle for our country's reunification. The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in September 1973 adopted a resolution supporting the reunification policy of the government of the DPRK.

Meanwhile the North European Countries Solidarity Conference for Korea's Independent, Peaceful Reunification and other international conferences and meetings of international organizations issued statements and adopted resolutions supporting the "three principles for and the five-point policy for national reunification."

He saw to it that our compatriots' voices in favour of independent, peaceful reunification echoed on the floor of the UN, and progress was made in discussing the issue of the Korean peninsula.

The 28th Session of the UN General Assembly affirmed its support for the three principles of national reunification and decided to dissolve without delay the "UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," a tool for US interference in our internal affairs. It was a victory for north Korea in the struggle to push the programme for independent reunification and, at the same time, it meant the defeat of the criminal policy of the US which had long misused the UN as a tool to carry out its aggressive policy in the Korean peninsula.

In the mid-70s, a grave situation developed due to the war-provoking manoeuvres of partitionists inside and outside the country. After defeat in the Vietnam war, the United States declared south Korea as its front defence area and brought in nuclear weapons en masse. In addition, it staged the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises, nuclear war exercises from 1976 on, aimed at invading north Korea and enlarged these every year. At the same time, Park Jung Hee clamoured about the "threat of southward invasion", built a 240-km-long concrete wall from the east to the west of the country and thus cut in two the territory of our country to dampen the burning desires of our compatriots. This was a grave crime against the nation.

When the "Yusin" dictators' manoeuvres to perpetuate the division became outrageous, Kim Jong Il emphasized that we had to drive out the partitionists by relying on our nation's internal force to reunify the country and that the national democratic forces comprising the majority of the people in south Korea should unite to fight against the minority forces of the anti-reunification fascists.

Therefore, in the north, an internal force for reunification was strengthened in all fields of politics, the economy and military affairs. In the south, a coalition of patriotic democratic forces against the anti-reunification fascist forces rapidly formed and also the reunification forces of expatriates.

By virtue of the energetic foreign activities of Kim Jong Il, solidarity organizations supporting Korea's independent, peaceful reunification were formed in many countries. <sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In June 1976, the "International Liaison Committee for Reunification and Peace in Korea" (CLARECO) was organized and "committees of solidarity with the Korean people and organizations supporting Korea's reunification" were formed in more than 70 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Such solidarity organizations numbered more than 100.

The World Congress Supporting the Independent, Peaceful Reunification of Korea was held in Brussels, Belgium, and in Tokyo, Japan, in February, 1977 and November, 1978. Such an international solidarity movement was organized rapidly on a worldwide scale and its size increased as the days went by. During 1979 alone more than 1,000 million people in 125 countries and 31 international organizations and regions participated in an international signature campaign supporting Korea's independent, peaceful reunification.

As the reunification forces were gaining supremacy, Kim Jong Il actively pushed on with the work to bring about wide-ranging dialogue between the north and the south. On his initiative, a plan for holding a north-south political conference was put forward in January 1977. <sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The main content of this venture is: To convene a north-south political conference of representatives of all political parties and social organizations and representatives of people from all walks of life in the north and the south, and discuss there the issue of contacts between north and south, so removing the danger of nuclear war, eliminating the sources of national trouble and creating an atmosphere of great national unity.



This proposal was a realistic and patriotic measure to open the way to reunification backed by the internal strength of our nation, since the national partition had been prolonged and the danger of war had increased. For this reason it enjoyed the support of people from various walks of life and progressive personages in south Korea. Progressive political parties, heads of governments and prominent social activists strongly expressed their solidarity.

Nevertheless the "Yusin" regime did not accept the proposal on the excuse that "fixation of peace" is more urgent than reunification, while plotting to fabricate "two Koreas" by conducting "visit diplomacy" and "invitational diplomacy".

Such being the situation, in January, 1979, Kim Jong Il made sure that the proposal for opening bilateral or multilateral preliminary talks to convene an all-nation congress was announced in the name of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, and he had it announced that abuses against the other side would be stopped on all parts of the north to create an atmosphere of national concord and dialogue. He also saw to it that a rational proposal for organizing a preparatory committee for national reunification, that is, a preliminary consultative organ to establish contacts and hold dialogues between two sides, was advanced.

Forced by these active measures and rational proposals, the south Korean side came to the table for dialogue, but they put up artificial obstacles to prevent contacts of the liaison delegates of both sides to organize a preparatory committee for national reunification and finally started a large-scale military exercise, with the result that the talks became deadlocked.

Even when Park Jung Hee was assassinated (the October 26 incident) and the south Korean ruling system became paralyzed, Kim Jong Il, who regarded independent, peaceful reunification as the fundamental strategy for reunification, held the door to reunification open by issuing the editorial "Let's Open the Way for the Nation with Cooperation, Unity and Reunification" in the newspaper *Rodong Sinmun*.

This historic editorial, permeated as it was with his affection for the nation and desire for the peaceful reunification, created a great sensation in political and public circles in south Korea. The patriotic democratic forces of south Korea demanded the immediate resumption of contacts with the

north and the abolition of the "Yusin Constitution" that bans reunification dialogue.

At that time, he advised the officials to suggest to the chiefs of all parties and social organizations and to senior officials of the south Korean government that the multilateral and bilateral contacts between north and south be conducted. However, the Chun Doo Hwan military fascist clique, who had usurped power in the "December 12" coup d'état, refused even contacts between the working level representatives for arranging a meeting of the prime ministers of both sides, saying, "Unification with north is unimaginable."

The north-south dialogues were not successful, but the process demonstrated the consistent, patriotic attitude and efforts of the Workers' Party of Korea and of the Government of the Republic to the people inside and outside the country, and at the same time it clearly revealed the anti-unification nature of the US rulers and lackeys who intended to freeze the country's partition.

In view of the fascist oppression and partitionist schemes of the US and south Korean rulers, the south Korean people turned out to struggle for independence, democracy and reunification.

In May, 1980, the Kwangju Popular Uprising broke out. This uprising became a turning point in awakening in the south Korean people of various walks of life the anti-US and independent spirit. The revolt was a milestone marked with blood showing that reunification is the only way for the south Korean people to live and that opposing the US and realizing independence are the way to reunify the country.

Such being the situation, Kim Jong Il energetically pushed on with the people to carry out the proposal to found a Democratic Confederal Republic of Korea advanced by President Kim Il Sung at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

At a joint conference of all political parties and social organizations in Pyongyang held in November, 1980, he sponsored a proposal to send democratic figures and personal ties of political parties and social organizations in the south and overseas as "letter bearers" of which was to organize a preparatory committee for founding the DCRK and to have preliminary talks to this end at an early date.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The letter was sent by internationalists and more than a 100 personal ties including Kim Il Sung and democratic figures in prison.

The south Korean people and the overseas compatriots appraised the proposal for founding a reunified confederal state as a "fair and reasonable reunification programme" and a "beacon brightening the darkness" and published statements or talks supporting it. World opinion also welcomed it and the ten-point policy for national reunification. Government and political parties in many countries sent congratulatory messages to the north and published statements, talks or appeals supporting the proposal. Meanwhile a world congress and international meetings were held asking for the immediate putting into effect of this overture, and the Committee for Supporting the Proposal on the Founding of the DCRK and other similar organizations and groups were formed in various countries, and a signature campaign supporting it was actively conducted in the international community.<sup>14</sup>

14. In late 1982, the number of international solidarity organizations and institutes supporting Korea's reunification amounted to more than 250. During the year since March 1981, over 1,600 million people in over 100 countries and 24 international organizations participated in the signature campaign for supporting the proposal for founding the DCRK and for ten-point policy of a confederal state.

In February 1982, Kim Jong Il proposed holding a joint conference of politicians from the north, the south and abroad. This would be a consultative meeting for founding a reunified confederal state. It was made clear that the joint meeting of politicians, which would proceed in the form of multi-ateral round-table talks, would discuss all reunification proposals, including the proposal for founding the DCRK, and also the issue of setting up north-south joint ventures and interchanges. The names of 100 politicians of the north, the south and abroad who were to attend the meeting were made public. Opinion at home and abroad unanimously supported the proposal. The south Korean people of various strata, overseas Koreans, and personalities in political and social circles waged a vigorous political campaign to convene the joint meeting, in spite of oppression by the separatist "Yusin" dictators.

## 2) On the Way to Realize the Great Unity of the Whole Nation

Kim Jong Il has made strenuous efforts to ease tension in the Korean

peninsula, remove the danger of war and maintain peace.

In January, 1984, on his initiative, the Central People's Committee and the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK sent the US government and Seoul authorities a letter proposing tripartite talks among the north, the south and the US for converting the armistice agreement into peace agreement and for adopting a nonaggression declaration between the north and the south. In April 1985 the Supreme People's Assembly sent a letter to the "National Assembly" of south Korea proposing north-south parliamentary talks and to make public a joint statement on nonaggression.

On his initiative, the proposals to halt all kinds of military exercises during the north-south talks and to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear free zone, a peace zone, were announced and the important measure of redeploying 150,000 soldiers of the Korean People's Army to peaceful construction was taken.

All these proposals and measures fully showed the will of Kim Jong Il who was attempting to create an atmosphere of peaceful reunification in our country.

The above-mentioned proposals again met with obstacle due to the parasitic attitude of the US ruling circles and the south Korean regime, and tireless efforts still needed to put them into effect.

However, Kim Jong Il's will to eliminate the danger of war, secure peace and open a way to a confederation reunification was firm. In January 1987, and May, 1990, he proposed north-south high-level political and military talks and a dialogue for armament reduction and took the radical measure of reducing the Korean People's Army forces unilaterally.<sup>15</sup>

15. In January 1987 the Prime Minister of the Administration Council and the Minister of the People's Armed Forces sent in both their names a letter to the south side containing a proposal to convene north-south high-level political and military talks and urged that they start without delay. In July of the same year, the Government of the DPRK put forth a plan for the sharp reduction of the armed forces, before taking the measure to demobilize 100,000 men of the Korean People's Army by the end of the year and to dispatch them to the sites of socialist construction. In addition to this, the government, in November, 1988, advanced a comprehensive overture to maintain peace, and in May 1990, initiated another overture on the reduction of armaments to secure peace on the Korean peninsula.

His realistic proposals and practical measures showed his aspiration for peace and his strong will to achieve reunification.

Meanwhile, he strove for national reconciliation and unity between the north and the south.

The delivery of relief goods from the north Korean people to the south Korean flood victims stemmed from his lofty love for his compatriots. This event aroused great repercussion at home and abroad.

Late in August, 1984 we had especially heavy rain. At that time, Kim Jong Il was giving on-the-spot guidance in the east coastal areas and in South Pyongan Province. One night, looking out at the torrential rain, he said to an official:

"I am worried about the south Korean people because of this ceaseless rain. A heavy rain like this will surely bring floods to south Korea. They will suffer again from floods."

As the night advances it seems that I am more anxious about them. The mere thought of the south Korean people troubles my heart. Their sufferings because of the division of the country bothers me all the time."

He continued earnestly:

"A true patriot living in our divided country is one who always keeps our south Korean compatriots in mind. There cannot be true patriotism when one is indifferent to the sufferings of our south Korean compatriots."

With these meaningful words he reiterated how good it would be if the rain stopped. But the rain didn't stop. As he feared, south Korea was inundated from late August to early September.

According to the south Korean authorities, 350 people died. The floods claimed over 207,000 victims, destroyed over 36,700 houses and washed away or demolished vast areas of cultivated land.

On receiving this appalling news, Kim Jong Il said to an official who accompanied him:

"We have to send the south Korean flood victims relief goods full of our warmth as compatriots."

"The leader, worried about the flood victims who would be helpless, sitting at the riversides and homeless, has instructed me to send them relief goods."

Acquainting himself with the situation of the flood victims, he said that they would badly need food, shelter, medicines and the like, and he saw to it that 50,000 sacks of rice, 500,000 metres of cloth, 100,000 tons of cement and large quantities of medicines were delivered through the Red Cross organization.

The relief goods came to 18 million dollars in value. 16

In 1983 Sweden sent flood victims 750,000 dollars, which was the largest relief fund ever given in the 120-year-long relief campaigns conducted by the International Red Cross. The U.S. offered 20,000 tonnes in south Korea, and Japan, 60,000 dollars.

This was unprecedented in the relief campaigns of the international Red Cross.

Not only the world's people but also officials in north Korea were surprised at the large amount of relief money.

Our dear leader Kim Jong Il said to the officials:

Nothing should be regretted, even though the relief goods amount to so much, since it is to save people of the same nation.

"What will they be used for if we don't spend our savings on relief for our south Korean compatriots? The nation comes first, above all. Nobody troubles us, will he p. them."

The relief measures were the sublime crystallization of the lofty human love for our compatriots of Kim Jong Il, who wanted to transmit his brother-and-blood feelings to the south Korean people across the high wall of partition. He gave an instruction to send the relief goods in good time.

Our leader's love for the south Korean people is now crossing over the Demarcation Line for the first time in the 40 years since the country's partition. What an emotional event it is!

Even the Demarcation Line dare not stand against the strength of the love for the south Korean people of our leader and our Party.

Since the delivery of the relief goods to the south Korean flood victims immediately conveys the fraternity of our common bloodline, those things must be perfect. I will feel easy only when the goods are strictly chosen."

On September 28, several hundred trucks and large boat loads of relief goods departed for the south amidst enthusiastic send-off by the north Korean people. The trucks ran to the south via Panmunjom, while the boats headed for Incheon and Pukphong.

The relief goods full of fraternal affection went over to the south for the first time since the 40-year-long territorial partition. What a moving scene full of joy and emotion.

This event caused a feeling of wonder in the south Korean people. The flood victims were filled with sentiments of being the same nation. Some of those who were not affected by the flood were envious of the sincerity of the north Korean brothers, so they tried to exchange their rice for the relief



rice so as to eat north Korean rice at least once themselves.

The relief goods were vitality that revived fraternal feelings in the hearts of the south Korean people and also a bridge connecting the bloodline of our nation.

At the time, Kim Jong Il spoke these meaningful words:

"The compatriotic feelings shared with our fellow countrymen are still unchanged.

"Truly, though a wall crosses our country, there is no wall in the hearts of our compatriots who have inherited one and the same bloodline... Great is the strength of a great love. How strong is the force of our fellow countrymen who are united in affection for their compatriots. The fatherland will be surely reunified by this force that nobody can stand against."

The relief measures were a momentous phase in realizing national reconciliation and unity. Taking advantage of such a favorable situation, he took active measures to initiate many-sided contacts and dialogue between the north and the south. These produced the north-south economic talks. At the same time, the north-south Red Cross talks was resumed in May of the next year after a 12 year-interval.

Kim Jong Il wisely suggested that the officials propose many-sided dialogues, including a joint conference of parliaments, sports talks and student talks, for the purpose of enlarging the scale of the resumed north-south dialogues and negotiations.

In order to create an atmosphere of reconciliation and unity, he ensured that art troupes, home-visiting groups and sports teams from the north and the south travelled to the other side. In proposing an interchange of art troupes he said:

"We should not hesitate to do anything if it promotes fraternal feelings and links the bloodline of the nation. There is no need to hesitate on the road of patriotism."

His meaningful words sounded over the 3,000-ri land like an echo of love for his own nation. When the exchange of art troupes and home-visiting groups was about to happen in September of that year, he said:

"Our art troupes and home-visiting groups are leaving for Seoul. How happy would we be if such an auspicious event were to take place in a reunified country!"

"We must reunify the country as soon as possible so that all the fellow countrymen can enjoy the affection of their long-missed kin and be filled

with patriotism, travelling freely to Pyongyang and Seoul and connect the severed bloodline of our nation."

He gave guidance for the exchange of art troupes and home-visiting groups so that it could be carried out in accordance with aspirations for reunification and in such a way as to revive national sentiment. His intention was that the actors and actresses should share their national sentiments with the audience in aspiring for reunification in their singing and dancing in Seoul, and so display the homogeneous nation's spirit that remained alive, unchanged over thousands of years.

The artists and home-visitors of the north and the south fanned the burning aspirations of all compatriots for national reconciliation and reunification. Lofty is Kim Jong Il's aim to realize national reconciliation and unity and open the path to independent, peaceful reunification.

The south Korean people highly praised the outstanding leadership and activities of Kim Jong Il who tirelessly pushed on with the reunification work.

"Secretary Kim Jong Il is hastening the date of reunification with his extraordinary wisdom and farsightedness. From his early years he gave eloquent answers to the theoretical and practical problems of reunification, with his uncommon wisdom and a keen scientific eye, and is hastening reunification with his unmatched leadership and revolutionary sweep."

The reunification campaign in south Korea was waged by people from all walks of life. Since the situation had changed, the officials of opposition parties expressed their wish to meet the north side, and young students suggested north-south student talks, while women and men and women of religion proposed contacts with their colleagues in the north. Encouraged by his vigorous campaign for reunification, the Rev. Moon Ik Hwan, aged 70, visited north Korea in March, 1989, and coed Kim Su Gyong visited the north as a delegate of Jondaehyop (the National Council of Student Representatives) to the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang.

Kim Jong Il highly regarded Rev. Moon's loyal and patriotic deed and let all our countrymen know of his thirst for reunification. He also took special care of Mr. Moon's itinerary. Kim Jong Il on behalf of the nation also highly appraised the patriotic deed of coed Kim Su Gyong who came to Pyongyang with a burning will for reunification, and called her "the flower of reunification."

It was a sign of his trust in the patriotic figures striving for reunification by highly praising a prominent democrat. It also showed appreciation of the reunification campaign of the one million students of south Korea expressed through the meritorious deed of a girl student.

#### 4. Leading Overseas Koreans along the Road to Reunification and Patriotism

##### 1) Outstretched Arms for Overseas Koreans

The dear leader Kim Jong Il defined having the same blood as one of the major indicators of a nation and made clear that millions of overseas Koreans belong to one nation and are fellow countrymen who have inherited one bloodline, though they are engaged in various economic fields in different regions of the globe.

In the past, they emigrated to other countries with sorrow for their own country, but they and their offspring badly miss the fatherland.

Overseas Koreans number 700,000 in Japan, 1,200,000 in the US, 2,000,000 in China, 500,000 in the former USSR, 100,000 in Europe and 500,000 in Latin America—5 million in all. They are fellow countrymen who have inherited the bloodline of the same forefathers and speak one language though living in various regions of the world. The foreign lands where they live are neither their forefathers' lands nor the cradle of the glorious history and culture of our compatriots. Even when they have foreign citizenship, their bloodline does not change. That's why expatriates feel upset to see the fatherland suffering from the territorial division imposed by foreign forces.

In their desire for reunification and great national unity, Korean personalities overseas showed their intention of visiting Pyongyang. But this was not at all easy. The south Korean authorities instructed their officials in foreign countries to block the overseas Koreans' visits to the north and threatened them labelling the visit "high treason against the nation" and an "act benefiting an enemy". However, nothing could prevent our overseas com-

patriots from advancing the great cause of reunification with the sense of national independence.

Choe Tok Sin, the former chairman of the Society of the Paedri Nation in the United States, Kim Song Rak, the chairman of the Society for the Promotion of National Reunification in the United States, Choe Hong Hui, the president of the International Federation of Taekwon-Do in Canada and others visited Pyongyang.

The books and articles which they wrote to describe what they had seen and what they were impressed by were widely read by overseas Koreans and south Korean people, and fanned the burning desire for national unity and reunification.

It was July, 1981, when the startling news of Choe Tok Sin's visit to Pyongyang was known to Koreans residing in the US.

Mr. Choe had served in the Kuomintang (Chiang Kai-shek-led Nationalist Party) army of China as an independent batalion commander (colonel) before the August 15 Liberation of Korea and, after the liberation, went to Seoul to become a high-ranking officer in the regime of Syngman Rhee. During the Korean war he served as commander of the 1st Corps of the ROK Army (lieutenant general) and as the "ROK" army delegate to the truce talks. After the war, he was the chief delegate to the south Korean-Chinese talks and minister of foreign affairs in the early 1970s, when the north-south dialogue was taking place. He stood in the van of anti-communism and the anti-north campaign as a councillor of the "Anti-Communist Liberation". In 1976, he left the Park Jung Hee-Yusin regime and went to the US, but his anti-communist and anti-north attitude did not change a bit. It was not at all easy for him to abandon his life-long beliefs and make ideological conversion in the evening of his life. But he, though belated, took the road towards a lance with communism, in pursuit of idea of great national unity put forward by President Kim Il Sung, the sun of nation.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il regarded his patriotic conscience as more precious than his soiled past career and showed him special favour.

One day when Choe Tok Sin was staying in Pyongyang he was told that Kim Jong Il, who sensed he was suffering tooth trouble, had suggested that he should be fitted with new teeth now that he was visiting the fatherland even if his return should be postponed.

Choe Tok Sin felt a lump in his throat. Words failed him. Nobody had

been concerned about his teeth when he had travelled about in the US and West Germany as a foreign client. However, President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Kim Jong Il showed him warm concern and he had new false teeth made of gold.

He knelt down before his father Choe Tong O's tomb in the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery in Sinam-ni in the suburbs of Pyongyang, and begged forgiveness for his crimes against the nation.

In his press interview held before leaving Pyongyang, he said "It is quite right and a good thing that you have Mr. Kim Jong Il, whom you call the dear leader because he has inherited the President's purpose, personality and virtue, as the leader who has inherited the cause of the President and who assists him. He is a great man of intelligence and benevolence who has mastered thinking and theories, is omnipotent in the leadership, versatile in knowledge and lofty in virtue. I believe in the bright future of our nation. I pay my respects to Mr. Kim Jong Il."

In this way, Chairman Choe Tok Sin made the conversion from anti-communism to alliance with communism by virtue of the magnanimity and solicitude of Kim Jong Il.

Afterwards, Choe Tok Sin relinquished US citizenship, returned to his homeland and held important posts: deputy chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Chondoist Chongu Party, president of the newspaper *Thongil Sinbo*, and others. He devoted all his efforts for reunification until he died of an incurable disease. Kim Jong Il was inexpressibly sad at his death. He instructed his men to hold a state funeral and put up his tomb in the Patriotic Martyrs Cemetery. What an enormous favour it was!

It was the same with Choe Hong Hui, the publisher of newspaper *Paedul Sinbo* in Canada, and the president of the International Federation of Taekwon-Do. One day in September, 1980, people were somewhat surprised at his appearance at Pyongyang Airport, because he had crossed the 38th parallel commanding the 5th Division during the June 25 war. After the May 16 military coup d'état he was a corps commander of the "ROK" army and later he was disgusted with the Park Jung Hee fascist regime and went abroad and organized the "Paedal Soldiers Association" with many generals. He demanded the democratization of south Korean society. He founded the Federation of Taekwon-Do and was determined to hasten national reunification through the Taekwon-Do. Although his anti-fascist

sentiments were strong, he was not free from anti-communist ideology.

Kim Jong Il thought that he could surely be led along the road of reunification if his feelings for democracy and anti fascism were combined with the idea of independence, and he allowed him to visit the north. Thus Choe Hong Hui visited Pyongyang, leading an exhibition team of Taekwon-Do.

He was deeply impressed by the splendour of the Juche-socialist fatherland and his ideological conversion had started. He also visited historic Mangyongdae in great excitement. The following happened when he went to his birthplace. When the helicopter carrying him was over his native village in Hwagae County located on the shore of the East Sea, one of the escorts, saying that there was his native village, suggested trying to spot his old home. Choe Hong Hui looked out of the window saying that his home was the biggest and most majestic tile-roofed one and that everyone knew the house of Mr. Choe. Then he asserted that this was not his native village. But while the plane circled three times over the village he minutely viewed the lie of the land and barely discerned his old house. It was a very small and shabby house surrounded by multistoreyed houses. Looking down at his native village which had changed beyond recognition, he said, "My house, that was the biggest one around here when I went to Seoul, is now the smallest one today. This fact alone testifies to the great vitality of the Juche idea of President Kim Il Sung and the leadership of Mr. Kim Jong Il and the rapid development of the Republic."

He was moved to tears by the magnanimity and the warmth of the dear leader Kim Jong Il: he treated him warmly with patriotic sentiments instead of checking him for his checkered career, arranged the helicopter for his return to his native home, let him be received by President Kim Il Sung and paved the way for his rebirth. He went on to say "I keenly feel that the dear leader Kim Jong Il is not only an outstanding and wise leader but also a man of immense magnanimity and incomparable virtue. He allowed me, the fatherland, I who am guilty, and honoured me with a meeting with the respected President who is looked up to by all people. Truly the dear leader Kim Jong Il is quite like President Kim Il Sung in view of his magnanimity, personality and virtue."

He came frequently to Pyongyang. Every time he was much affected by the favour and solicitude shown him by Kim Jong Il. This happened in November, 1988, when he was staying in Pyongyang. He was ushered into a room where a luxurious table was laid for his 70th birthday, the table



full of fragrance of the home and. Taking the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Choe, the attendants congratulated on his 70th birthday and her on her 60th. The old couple were bewildered. An official explained, "The respected leader Kim Jong Il, who was informed that today is your 70th birthday, said that you might have been lonely on your birthdays in an alien land and longed to see the mountains and rivers of the fatherland. So he instructed his men to bring you to Pyongyang to celebrate your 70th birthday in a friendly atmosphere and taste the warmth of the fatherland. He continued, and madam Choe was to have her 60th birthday this year. He also suggested arranging a 60th birthday table for her at the same time, and prepared for you these 70th and 60th birthday tables. He requested me time and again to convey his congratulations to you."

Since Mr. Choe Hong Hui had trodden the path of life beset with vicissitudes and embarked on the road of a worthy life in his twilight years, he felt deeply ashamed and remarked in an emotional voice, "The dear leader kindly treats a person like me who has been much souled by the turbulence of life. He is truly a great man of generosity, magnanimity and lofty virtue."

In late June, 1981, the pastor Kim Song Rak, who had been the former chairman of the Society for the Promotion of National Reunification in the United States and the adviser to the Korean Churches Association, visited Pyongyang. At the airport, he asked journalists not to publicize his arrival in Pyongyang because he wanted to come and go quietly since his visit was not free of complications. Surely that must have been a reflection of his misunderstanding about the north.

He was born into the family of a clergyman in Sinam-dong, Pyongvay and studied at Pyongyang Sungsil Middle School, and went to study in America with the help of an American missionary. After he returned to Pyongyang, he became a pastor in a church, and in 1936, he went to America again. Since then he had served scholarly and religious societies in the US and south Korea. In the early 1960s, he went to the US again and worked as a pastor in the Los Angeles Association of Presbyterian Churches. At that time he was widely known by many US politicians and was the only Korean to receive a pension from the US government.

He, who was obsessed with anti-communism, received a letter from Pyongyang in the joint name of north Korea's political parties and social organizations. The letter proposed ways and means for carrying out the

plan for founding a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. So he went to Pyongyang to make inquiries about this and, at the same time, hoped to visit his birthplace. But still he was not free of his suspicion of north Korea and was on his guard.

The dear leader Kim Jong Il advised the officials that they should treat him and take care of him as a compatriot, so that he could see the reality with his own eyes and have correct understanding. Kim Jong Il showed deep concern for his accommodation and itinerary.

The Rev. Kim visited the time-honoured Mangyongdae, Ponghwa-ri, the History Museum, the Kim Song Tractor Plant, the Mirim Lock Gate, Kim Il Sung University, No. 2 Ryongbuk Girls Senior Middle School, and various other places. In the course of his tour, he was much moved and felt a sense of pride in the dignity of the fatherland and in his compatriots.

First of all, he was deeply moved by the benevolence and favour shown him by President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il: they did not ask him questions about his past activities, believed in his patriotic conscience and showed him the way to reunification. He regretted that he had visited Pyongyang so belatedly. He was converted from anti-communism to alliance with communism. Finally the Rev. Kim asked journalists to broadcast the news of his arrival in Pyongyang and his impressions of the places he had visited.

The dramatic change in his ideology became more radical as the days went by. So he gave a press interview on his own initiative and gave a statement on his departure at the airport before leaving. In the interview he spoke of his impression of his visit to the north: "After a 46-year interval I visited the fatherland where my forefather's tombs and my native village are, and I have spent the most impressive and unforgettable days in my 79 years."

"As a man of a ruined country I went abroad, chased by the Japanese imperialists. I finally realized my long-cherished desire to visit the fatherland and felt its warmth on seeing the true face of my country. When I came I had certain misunderstandings and knew very little. But, as the saying goes, 'seeing is believing', I have cleared away all misunderstandings, through seeing the reality of my fatherland with my own eyes and meeting you face to face. The nation and the rivers and mountains are the same as before, but today's wonderful reality has grown under the great leader's benevolent hand. President Kim Il Sung is a Heaven-sent man. I think we must defend this wonderful homeland to the end, since it was built by the

President. It is really fortunate that today our country has chosen the dear leader, who is so versatile, as the successor to the President."

He made great efforts to unite many expatriates and religious men in the reunification of the country.

President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il treated the Rev. Kim and his wife with great affection and trusted as before when they visited the north again. When he passed away, Kim Jong Il was very sad and regretted that he had died before seeing the day of reunification. He highly appreciated his deeds in the struggle for national reunification.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il conferred the National Reunification Prize<sup>17</sup> on Kim Song Rak, Choe Tok Sin, Pae Tong Ho, Choe Hong Hui, Sonu Hak Won, Cha Sang Dal, Rim Chang Yong and other patriotic overseas Koreans who devoted their life to the patriotic cause. Choe Tok Sin, Choe Hong Hui and others are the heroes portrayed in the multi-part feature film *The Nation and Destiny*, a world-famous masterpiece that was created on the initiative and under the guidance of Kim Jong Il. He instructed that the film should realistically show that at first they hesitated in agony on the crossroads of anti-communism or alliance with communism, and then finally realized that alliance with communism was the only genuine patriotic way, the way leading to a genuine life. Also he added that the fate of nation is precisely the fate of the individuals forming the nation.

The dear leader Kim Jong Il embraced the overseas compatriots with outspread arms, led them to live a worthy life and honoured them. Some had migrated to foreign lands for the sake of their livelihood and others were extremely tired from mental wanderings; their grizzle-haired heads drooping. Kim Jong Il really embodied their destiny and is the teacher of the 5 million overseas Koreans.

17 The National Reunification Prize was established by a decree of the Central People's Committee of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on July 25, 1990. It is conferred on patriots who have rendered distinguished services to the great cause of national reunification. According to the decree, the state has set up the prize to officially commend personages at home, south and abroad, who have distinguished themselves in the struggle for the independent peace and reunification of the country. On August 5, 1990, the first prize winners were named to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland.

## 2) Uniting the Overseas Koreans into a Patriotic Force for Reunification

Millions of overseas Koreans live in foreign countries with different social systems in Asia, Europe and America, and have different political views and religions. It is a pressing task for the development of the reunification movement to build them into a reunification force by realizing great national unity.

The respected leader Kim Jong Il, perceiving the national spirit of overseas Koreans, holds fast to uniting them under the banner of reunification and patriotism as his main work.

Let all overseas Koreans unite under the banner of independent national reunification. This is the motto he has put forward.

Anybody who loves his country and nation wishes for reunification. The country's reunification is the true patriotic cause to be realized by the national conscience. We will hold hands and advance together with anybody who wants reunification, irrespective of their past life. That is his lively ideal.

The work of uniting the overseas Koreans under the banner of independent national reunification was carried out only by the patriotic movement of Korean residents in Japan, but it was not carried out on a worldwide scale in Europe and America until the mid 1970s.

At that time Kim Jong Il, who stood in the van of the nationwide movement for reunification, pointed out the important place to be taken by the overseas Koreans in our people's struggle for reunification and saw to it that the patriotic movement for reunification was waged vigorously in all regions of the world where Koreans live.

The patriotic movement for reunification began to grow on the strength of his ardent affection for expatriates in America and Europe where the past seemed as if the national spirit had disappeared due to the anti-communism and anti-north manoeuvres of the partitionists.

As the trend towards alliance with communism became strong among overseas Koreans Kim Jong Il wisely led officials to open negotiations and develop solidarity with the overseas Koreans' organizations, democratic figures and overseas Koreans of various strata.

In November, 1981 the dialogue between the delegates from the north, overseas Koreans and Korean Christians abroad was held in Vienna, at the initiative of Kim Jong Il.

The talks held in an atmosphere of patriotism and fervent desire for reunification discussed the plan for founding a Democratic Confederation of Korea as the key point on the agenda. The representatives of the overseas Korean organizations supported the plan as the most realistic one for reunification and expressed their will to set out on the road to opposition to foreign forces, anti-fascism, democracy and reunification through alliance with communism.

In dispatching the north Korean representatives to the Vienna meeting, Kim Jong Il advised that they should show the overseas Koreans and Christians that their life is full of song and laughter and that they also have emotions. In addition, he instructed them that they should not only hold talks but also organize song and dance performance, a demonstration of Taekwon Do instructors and the showing of the film *The Tale of Chunhyang*. In consideration of the overseas Koreans' nostalgia for the homeland, he sent traditional food by plane to give them a grand Korean banquet just like one in the Okryu Restaurant in Pyongyang.

The Vienna meeting adopted a joint statement and other political documents thus adding a new page to the history of the reunification movement.

The overseas Koreans' reunification campaign for the realization of the plan for founding a unified confederal state spread among our compatriots in Japan and in other countries of America and Europe as well as in the USSR.

In March, 1983, the Congress for the Promotion of National Reunification was held in Tokyo with the participation of overseas Koreans from various regions of the world. It made public a declaration on behalf of the country through a confederation, transcending ideologies and systems.

Kim Jong Il also pushed on with the work of establishing a confederation to have wide ranging talks between the north and overseas Koreans. Thanks to his measures and energetic guidance a congress of pan-confederate of the north and overseas Koreans was held in December 1983. At this time the National Federation for Reunification of the Country was founded. The enlarged conference of representatives of the National Federation for Reunification of the Country held in October 1986, discussed the

the Koreans overseas and at home for making the Korean peninsula a war-free and peace zone and for supporting the south Korean people's campaign against the US and for independence, the struggle against fascism and for democracy and adopted the relevant political documents.

As mentioned above, Kim Jong Il advanced the line of forming a united front of overseas Koreans under the banner of independent national reunification and wisely led the struggle to realize this and thus enabled our overseas compatriots to unite to form a single reunification force, regardless of their differences in ideology, ideal and belief.

That the Koreans resident in various continents united to form one patriotic force for reunification on the basis of national independence provided a solid foundation for the formation of a great national united front of the north, the south and overseas Koreans. As a result, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland the historic Pan-National Rally attended by the people of various strata from the north, the south and abroad was held, and the Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification (Ponnyuryon) was formed as an all-Korean allied organization of patriotic reunification forces.

Kim Jong Il, who has the patriotic outlook on reunification, has duly rendered immortal distinguished services for stepping up great national reunification by uniting the 5 million overseas Koreans to form a patriotic force for reunification.

The personalities and overseas compatriots from all walks of life engaged in the reunification movement are active in the campaign to realize the country's reunification, in order to repay the great affection of President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Kim Jong Il who embraced them all and encouraged them to enjoy a worthwhile life for reunification.

However sad news came like a bolt from the blue that President Kim Il Sung, who was a Heaven-sent legendary hero and a great man the country had never known before, had passed away to our great grief in the midst of hard efforts to bring the joy of reunification to all fellow countrymen.

Our overseas compatriots all over the globe grieved at the news.

Mourning places were installed everywhere Koreans live, and the upsurges flowed in, in a steady stream day and night.<sup>8</sup>

18. Koreans resident in Los Angeles of the United States and Canada organized a confeder-



lence preparatory committee and installed mourning places to meet mourners. On the occasion of the death of President Kim Il Sung the Central Standing Committee of Chongryon in Japan adopted a decision and the headquarters of Chongryon, central organs, establishments, all branches of Chongryon, university and schools and families expressed their deep condolence.

About 70 organizations of overseas Koreans in China, Russia, Germany and the United States visited Korean embassies, missions and consulates in foreign countries to convey their condolence. They placed a wreath before the portrait of President Kim Il Sung and wrote on the condolence book.

Having received this sad news which was like heaven falling, overseas compatriots came to Pyongyang after crossing continents and oceans to express their condolences. They knelt down before the bier of President Kim Il Sung and wept sadly.

In the midst of his heart-breaking grief, Kim Jong Il received the overseas Koreans visiting the fatherland.

He extended thanks to them for their heartfelt condolences and talks with them in an atmosphere full of compatriotic sentiment. Delegations and representatives from about 60 overseas Korean organizations visited Pyongyang and expressed their condolences before the bier and the bronze statue of the Father Kim Il Sung on Mansu Hill. The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon), unable to repress their grief and sorrow, sent another condolence delegation.

Kim Jong Il warmly received it and the mourners and showed concern for their comfort during their stay.

A party arranged by Kim Jong Il for the Chongryon delegation and other representatives of overseas Koreans was given on the evening of the day when the ceremony for bidding the last farewell to President Kim Il Sung was held.

Choe Hong Hui, president of the International Federation of Taekwon Do, said at the party "Our fellow countrymen, having lost the great President, are full of determination today to struggle. We hold the dear leader Kim Jong Il in high esteem, for he works for the cause of the President. We like to emphasize that the most important thing for us is to be active in the great cause of reunification and this is the way to meet the wishes of the President." Jon Chung Rim, chairman of the Canadian Regional Headquarters of the Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification (Pongryon) vowed his determination thus, "Our wise and respected leader Kim Jong Il, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, has

extraordinary intelligence, an iron-strong will, unmatched courage and magnanimity. General Kim Jong Il is the great man of century. We vow to devote our all to the struggle to hasten reunification, with great national pride in having General Kim Jong Il as our respected Supreme Commander.

Kim Jong Il sent messages to the overseas Koreans in reply to their messages of condolences over the death of President Kim Il Sung.

The dear leader Kim Jong Il, who advances the grand programme for reunification and has opened a short-cut leading to national unity and a reunified country, is the symbol of our nation and the lodestar of reunification. The 70 million Koreans in the north, the south and overseas respect such a peerless man and entrust their destiny to him.

## VIII. The World's Independence and Human Emancipation

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## 1. Great Programme for the Realization of the World's Independence

### 1) The Question of Modern Imperialism and Its History

When he was attending Kim Il Sung University, Kim Jong Il surprised everyone by giving complete scientific exposition of modern imperialism.

It is common knowledge that analysis, synthesis and theorizing in studies with an interest in a certain special object is aimed to give an answer to real practical problems. It can be said that Kim Jong Il started to study modern imperialism from such a viewpoint.

It is considered that he came to study the question of imperialism in the light of the aggression and domination of the Japanese imperialists who colonized our country long ago, and the partition of the country owing to the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists after liberation, and he did critical research into the Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism with keen interest. In particular, the "Rightist" theory of modern revisionism concerning imperialism prompted him to give an extensive exposition of modern imperialism after the Second World War. Thus, in 1962, when he was a student in his twenties, Kim Jong Il published his immortal classic *On the Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature*.

Starting from the basic viewpoint that the strategy of modern imperialism to dominate the third world changed in its features but not in its essence, he defined the political, economic and cultural characteristics of modern imperialism and, on the basis of its analysis, showed the prospects for the world's independence and provided the key for the correct strategy.

The main force of violating national independence is none other than imperialism. Imperialism is an ideology founded on the invasion and domination of other countries and nations and its sociopolitical system.

Towards the close of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, industrial capitalism based on free competition became monopoly

capitalism. Towards the close of the 19th century imperialism emerged in the process of the expansion of monopoly capital due to the concentration and accumulation of production and capital, and the struggle for colonies, due to the unequal development of the big powers, and was established through the crises from 1900 to 1903. At the beginning of the 20th century many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which occupied 71 per cent of the area of the earth and in which two-thirds of the world's population lived, were reduced to colonies of European imperialism. In the first half of the 20th century imperialism formed a colonial food chain which flagrantly violated the national sovereignty of the underdeveloped countries, weak and small nations on a worldwide scale.

Hence the independence of the world, whose substance is the decolonialization of all countries and nations, and the independence of nations and their independent development can be achieved successfully only when precedence is given to the correct definition of anti-imperialist strategy based on a scientific analysis of the nature, politics and destiny of imperialism.

An analysis of imperialism which became a new global system at the beginning of the 20th century was made by Lenin. In his *On Imperialism* he defined imperialism as follows, "Imperialism is capitalism in the final stage at which domination of monopoly and financial capital has been established, export of capital is in considerable importance, division of the world has begun between the international trusts and the division of all territories on the globe has been completed by the big capitalist powers."

Lenin indicated five criteria for imperialism. 1) formation of monopoly capital by accumulation and concentration of production and capital, 2) formation of a financial oligarchy, 3) export of capital, 4) division of the world by international monopolies, 5) division of the world's territory by the capitalist powers.

Lenin's *On Imperialism* was an extension and development of Marx's *Capital*. Marx's *Capital* dealt with "pure" capitalism, while Lenin's *On Imperialism* considered the world system of the concrete and historic domination of monopoly capital. Herein lies the theoretical and practical contribution of Lenin's *On Imperialism*. However, his *On Imperialism* had limitations and could not serve as the theoretical criterion for analysing the transformed imperialism after the Second World War. The aggressive nature of monopoly capitalism following Lenin's *On Imperialism* found its



expression in World Wars I and II. In this process the movement of the capitalist mode of production revealed different aspects. In other words, the change in the movement of capital did not allow dogmatic treatment of Lenin's *On Imperialism*.

Kim Jong Il's analysis of modern imperialism in conformity with the requirements of the developing revolution of the world on the basis of the Juche idea made clear the characteristic features, the real character, the aggressive and predatory nature of modern imperialism after World War II and the inevitability of its downfall. His theory of modern imperialism was developed in his works *On the Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature* (1962) and *Let Us March Forward Dynamically along the Road of Socialism and Communism under the Unfurled Banner of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle* (1987).

He scientifically formulated the characteristic features of modern imperialism as follows:

"... Modern imperialism is not merely based on the domination of monopoly, but constitutes the political and economic foundation of state monopoly capitalism and depends on neo-colonialism and not on the old-type colonialism.

"It is the imperialism which does not exist in coordination, but is realigned in subordination to the United States, and does not grow and strengthen, but is rapidly declining and making a last-ditch stand."

The characteristic features of modern imperialism clarified by Kim Jong Il are: first, former monopoly capitalism has changed into state monopoly capitalism; secondly, the neo-colonial mode of domination has appeared; thirdly, it is realigned in subordination to US imperialism; fourthly, the crisis of imperialism is being aggravated.

In his scientific analysis of modern imperialism, Kim Jong Il made clear its political and economic foundation, the changes that have taken place in colonial domination, the inalienable component part of imperialism, and the symptoms that have appeared in the relations between the imperialist countries and, on the basis of this analysis, he defined the historical position of modern imperialism as a whole. By giving an all-round analysis of the three-dimensional structure of imperialism acquired through World War II, Kim Jong Il revealed to the full its essential features.

To summarize, Kim Jong Il keenly saw that, viewed in the light of change in its political and economic foundations, today's modern imperial-

ism is based on state monopoly capitalism, whereas imperialism of the past was founded merely on the domination of monopoly capital.

State monopoly capitalism is monopoly capitalism under which big monopolies hold state power and strengthen their sway over the political and economic life of the country as a whole by closely combining the might of private monopolies with state power. It can be said in addition that in defining state monopoly capitalism, he pointed out as the main feature the fact that the power of the monopolies and state power are combined into a single mechanism and unity in order to save the capitalist system and expand and intensify the domination of financial capital. It can be said that the New Deal policy of the United States which was confronted with crisis following World War I and the appearance of Hitler in Germany are typical of the state monopoly capital. The emergence of state monopoly capitalism became general and universal following World War II. This was due to the need to continue the external expansion of the monopolies and maintain domination over the colonies in view of the changed balance of forces because of the growth of the influence of socialism and of the national liberation movement and to continuously pursue profits, to the necessity to counter the revolutionary advance of the working class and democratic movement at home with state power, and to measures to minimize the anarchy and deformity inherent in capitalism. Thus monopoly capitalism went over to state monopoly capitalism.

Next, Kim Jong Il showed that direct colonial domination became indirect and neo-colonial domination has become general. Unlike the old-type colonialism by which in the past the imperialists had dominated their colonies directly and openly through the governors-general they sent, neo-colonialism is the system and method of dominating and plundering colonies covertly and cunningly through local proxy governments faithful to them. Old-type colonialism had to go over to neo-colonialism entirely due to the growth of the national-liberation struggles in the colonies.

Next, Kim Jong Il has pointed out that viewed from the angle of mutual relations between imperialist countries, modern imperialism no longer has the coloration of the past whereby the imperialist powers fought each other, but has been realigned into a new Pax Americana under the leadership of the United States.

Moreover, his theory explained World Wars I and II mainly by the necessities of capitalist development. That is, they were wars for territorial

redivision between the early and late capitalist countries. But the situation changed after World War II.

After the war England, France, Germany and Italy showed a rapid decline in national power whereas the United States rapidly grew in national strength, became absolutely superior in military strength and more advanced in science and technology and the centre of the world economy and finance. In such a situation, the former parallel system in the relations between the imperialist powers was reorganized into a vertical alliance system centring on the United States.

Kim Jong Il perceived that due to such changes in the contradictory structure conflicts among the imperialists no longer became the main aspect, and their collusion and cooperation became an important aspect. He said that such collusion and cooperation were caused by their common aim to counter socialism and the national liberation movement and maintain their colonial domination. In this connection, he attached importance to the fact that the capital of the multinational enterprises is being internationalized.

The multinational enterprises which are the vanguard and the motive force of neo-colonialism have been formed against the background of the international concentration of capital and production. Multinational enterprises rapidly grew against the background of technical renovation after 1960. They extended their sphere of influence and domination in the '70s and built up a developed system of multinational domination with enormous economic, financial, and intelligence power in the '80s.

He considered that conflict of interest among them is inevitable since capital cannot be anything but capital. However international it becomes there cannot be real cooperation in the accumulation of capital as the main movement of capitalism and in the movement of profit. Herein is seen the revolutionary and scientific character of Kim Jong Il's theoretical analysis of contemporary imperialism. I once again admire his outstanding thinking, theories and political outlook.

Next, Kim Jong Il asserted that, viewed from the angle of the historical position of modern imperialism, it is not capitalism in the heyday of its power but declining imperialism now making a last-ditch stand.

As the phenomenon of "the rich getting ever richer and the poor getting ever poorer" which had existed within individual capitalist countries in the past has now developed in depth on a worldwide scale with the division of

the world into rich capitalist countries and poor developing countries, so capitalist conflicts have spread on an international scale going beyond national boundaries, and the methods of capitalist exploitation and plunder have become craftier. In this light, Kim Jong Il has proved that neither the basic contradictions of capitalism have disappeared nor the predatory nature of imperialism has changed.

This is an outstanding analysis which poses as a serious problem that if one has no proper understanding of the change in imperialism, one may take it for a change in the nature of imperialism and have illusions about it and, as a result, lose faith in the inevitability of its downfall and give up the anti-imperialist struggle.

Kim Jong Il stresses that imperialism cannot exist without colonies. That imperialism takes the form of neo-colonial domination means that the change in the national liberation movement and the change in the balance of forces have resulted in weakening imperialism, but not in changing the nature of imperialism. Neo-colonial domination, in essence, does not differ from the traditional colonial system because the capitalist monopolies still exploit colonial superprofits, and imperialism is based on the international division of labour for the imperialist monopolies to obtain profits and the economic subordination of the developing countries. Neo-colonial domination rather helps pacify the national liberation movement in the colonies and vassal states and cover up the role of the imperialist suzerain state by the fascist tyranny in the colonies.

Generally speaking, the system of modern imperialism reorganized following the Second World War does not mean capitalist development, but shows that imperialism is confronted with the crisis of collapse at home and abroad. This is the real character of modern imperialism of today elucidated by Kim Jong Il.

Based on himself on a scientific analysis of the characteristic features of modern imperialism, he has showed the true colours of modern imperialism and predicted the inevitability of its downfall.

"We must have a clear understanding of the true nature of modern imperialism, which is blustering and making desperate efforts before its doom, and we must hold to the conviction that its downfall is inevitable. Only then can we maintain an unshakable revolutionary stand with firm confidence in and optimism about victory in the revolution."

As Kim Jong Il has made clear, the collapse of imperialism is

inevitable, first, because the contradictions between the developing countries and the imperialist powers are aggravating the crisis of capitalism.

The developing countries with their enormous natural and man-made resources in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the lifeline for imperialism. It is basically the maintenance of the colonial domination system that enables the continuous reproduction of imperialism. The collapse of the colonial system as the stable ground for the export of commodities and capital immediately causes a crisis for imperialism. The national industries of the developing countries are ruined and they are losing the ability to pay their foreign debts because of the increasing neo-colonialist plunder by the imperialists. The strengthening of the exploitation and plunder of the developing countries by the imperialists itself brings about the crisis of imperialism.

The developing countries are calling for the establishment of a new international economic order, but the imperialist powers are indifferent to their demand. The contradictions between the imperialist powers and the developing countries in the economic and other fields have been aggravated and this serves to close the lifeline of the imperialists as the days go by.

Secondly, it is pointed out that antagonism and contradiction between the imperialist powers are increasing and that this is hastening the downfall of imperialism. The current trade disputes among the United States, the European Community and Japan, and same bed and different dreams shown at the G-7 summit prove that the contradictions of capitalism still exist. The United States which has become the biggest debt state from being the biggest creditor state in the world will have to lose its top position in the capitalist world due to its serious political crisis as well as its acute economic crisis. In his analysis, he showed that this will increase antagonism and contradiction between the United States and the other imperialist powers, as the US is endeavouring to maintain its monopoly position, and this will eventually lead to the collapse of the Pax Americana and the ruin of imperialism.

Thirdly, imperialism will certainly come to ruin on account of its reactionary nature and corruption.

Kim Jong Il has pointed out that deformed material life, poor mental and cultural life and reactionary political life are the main features of capitalist society, and this shows the anti-popular nature and corruption of modern imperialism.

That society does not develop so that people live in conformity with their nature and the needs of social beings but advances in the direction of suppressing them and hastening their dehumanization and will result in aggravation of the conflicts between the labouring people who desire to live independently and the capitalist class, and eventually lead to the latter's downfall.

His theory of contemporary imperialism, which scientifically expounds the true nature, characteristic features and destiny of modern imperialism, has overcome the limitations of the former theory which analysed imperialism from the point of view of economic relations and it has developed and perfected the working class theory of imperialism in an original manner on the basis of people-centred methodology of Juche.

The historic significance of his scientific exposition is that it comprises a theoretical textbook for the anti-imperialist and anti-US struggle which enables the anti-imperialist independent force to see the true nature of imperialism, to adhere to the principle of anti-imperialist independence and to work out a scientific anti-imperialist strategy.

In particular its significance lies in that it is a magic mirror which makes it possible clearly to reveal the contemporary social democrats' revisionist understanding of and policy towards imperialism following *perestroika* and frustrate their schemes.

Kim Jong Il who advanced the theory of modern imperialism is as torchlight illuminating the way forward for the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle in the third world, and he is the commander leading the movement for the independence of the world.

## 2) Elucidation of the Strategy for the World's Independence

Basing himself on this general analysis of contemporary imperialism, Kim Jong Il put forward anti-imperialist independence as the general strategy for the revolutionary movement in the world.

In his classic treatise published on May 3, 1983, on the occasion of the 163th birthday of Karl Marx and on the centenary of his death, Kim Jong Il said:

"The important task at present in advancing the revolutionary cause of



the working class pioneered by Marx is to oppose imperialism and promote the cause of independence for the world."

What is important in his proposition is that he defined it as the important strategy of the present stage of the world revolution for opposing imperialism and promoting the cause of independence for the world.

The theory of world revolution starts from *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels which put forward the internationalist slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" in the '40s of the 19th century. In evolving the theory of world revolution, Marx had bare the reactionary nature of colonialism and sympathized with the struggle against colonialism going on in some countries. Because he mainly regarded the labour movement in capitalist countries as the main link in the whole chain he did not attach great importance to the national-liberation struggles in the colonies. Accordingly he did not pay due attention to their position and role.

The beginning of the 20th century when Lenin was active was the time when the division of the world into colonies by the imperialist big powers had ended and the national liberation struggle in the colonies had not gone beyond the bounds of a bourgeois national movement. So, the national-liberation struggle in the colonies in those days did not grow strong enough to crush the colonial system of imperialism. Against this background, Lenin put forward the international slogan "Workers of all countries and the oppressed nations, unite!" and advanced the strategy of viewing the national-liberation struggles in colonies as the reserves of proletarian revolution while laying main emphasis on the labour movement in the capitalist countries.

In the theory of the world revolution, correct strategy was mapped out by President Kim Il Sung, the originator of the Juche idea, the guiding idea of the age of independence. He brought the question of national liberation into bold relief as the key issue for world revolution and advanced the Juche-orientated theory of world revolution based on the theory that each country and nation should shape its own destiny as its own master. He defined the essence of the movement for the world revolution as the struggle for independence, and put up the slogan "Let the world's people defending independence unite!" Thus a programme for making the whole world independent was laid down.

The new internationalist slogan "Let the world's people defending independence unite!" is based on a scientific analysis of the characteristic fea-

tures of the age of independence, the essence of the cause of independence of mankind and the law governing its development. It is a guide which makes it possible to prepare the powerful main agents to make the whole world independent by building up the anti-imperialist independent force to suit the historical conditions of the age of independence.

President Kim Il Sung advanced the idea that all countries and nations must follow the road of independence long ago. But he formulated it as the independence of the whole world in his classic work *Tasks of the People's Government in Modelling the Whole Society on the Juche Idea* published on April 14, 1982.

Kim Jong Il has developed and enriched the policy for the independence of the whole world put forth by President Kim Il Sung.

The strategy for the independence of the whole world is based on the historic idea that the independence of the world will be completed when each state and nation secures national sovereignty and when this process extends to the whole world. This reflects the law-governed development of the world revolution which will be completed when revolution wins victory in each country.

The independence of the whole world means, above all, complete eradication of dominationism and colonialism of all hues. This means the complete elimination of the forces oppressing, dominating and exploiting other countries and nations. In other words, it means the complete realization of the independence of all countries and nations. The world becomes independent when all countries and nations of the world get rid of foreign domination and subordination and win independence, shape and carry out state policies independently and exercise sovereignty in foreign relations.

Proceeding from the viewpoint that the world's independence is basically characterized by opposing imperialism and promoting the cause of independence for the world on the precondition that imperialism and colonialism are liquidated, Kim Jong Il made the attack against US imperialism its main direction.

Priority is given to the question of the anti-imperialist and anti-US struggle in the strategy for world independence, because imperialism, US imperialism in particular, is the main violator of the independence of progressive mankind and is the main obstacle to independence in the world. The United States, holding the position of "boss" in the system of imperialism, interferes in socialist construction in the socialist countries and in the

national-liberation struggle and the building of a new society in Asia, African and Latin-American countries, politically, economically and militarily and, at the same time, has made persistent efforts to place the states and nations in the three continents under their control. The United States reveals its true colour as the chiefain of aggressors, plunderers and international reactionaries everywhere in the world. Under these circumstances, liquidation of neo-colonialism precisely means the liquidation of contemporary imperialism.

To this end, Kim Jong Il has indicated the alignment of forces and the way to implement the strategy, and thus completed the structure of the strategy for independence for the world.

The alignment of forces for the world's independence and their strengthening are a question concerning the main agents in the strategy for the world's independence. Considering that, as in all social movements, successful realization of the world's independence depends on how the internal forces are prepared and what role they play, Kim Jong Il has given the correct answer to the theoretical and practical questions arising in strengthening the main agents.

Kim Jong Il formulated the main agents of the struggle for the world's independence as follows:

"The subject of the struggle for independence in each country is the people of that country, whereas the subject of the struggle to oppose imperialism and make the world independent consists of the socialist countries, the international communist movement, the national-liberation movement in colonies, the non-aligned movement, the world peace movement, and other anti-imperialist, independent forces."

Here he made clear the position of the four anti-imperialist independent forces.

The socialist forces and the international communist movement are the most powerful revolutionary forces of our time which are opposed to imperialism and all other reactionary forces: they are the decisive factor that frustrates the imperialist policy of war and aggression and pushes forward the revolutionary struggle of the world's people. His proposition is still of great significance in the light of the position of the socialist and communist movement in the history of mankind although the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe has brought about a change in the world situation. Of course there may be some modifi-

cation of tactics to meet the political situation of the time, but there is no change in its essential significance. This is all the more so in view of the vigorous movement for socialist reconstruction at present.

From this viewpoint he proposed settling the differences between fraternal parties and countries in the spirit of mutual understanding and comradely cooperation, strict observance of order and mutual relations whose essence is complete equality and independence, mutual respect, noninterference, and comradely cooperation, unity and cohesion with a view to overcoming opportunism and strengthening each nation as the practical way to strengthening the socialist countries and the international communist movement, which have the significance of standard to be abided by. In this respect, the situation in the former Soviet Union and socialist countries of Eastern Europe teaches a grim lesson.

He said, "The anti-imperialist, national liberation democratic revolution should be thoroughly carried out and the building of a new society accelerated in those countries which were colonies and semi-colonies in former days. This is of tremendous importance in ultimately destroying imperialism and making the whole world independent." His proposition is of great practical significance in the light of today's situation. It will be easily understood when one recalls that successful revolution in Cuba, Viet Nam and Iran in the past caused serious political, military and economic crises in the United States. He stressed the need for the newly-independent developing countries and the third world countries which had been colonies and semi-colonies in the past firmly to defend national sovereignty and independence, thoroughly carry out democratic revolution and expedite the building of a new society under the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle, and he indicated the necessity for the people still in bondage to imperialism to wage vigorous struggle, upholding the torch of national liberation.

He defined the position of the non-aligned movement as follows: "The non-aligned movement is a progressive movement opposed to all forms of domination and subjection and aspiring for independence; it is a mighty revolutionary force of our time which stands against imperialism." He is convinced that when member-states of the non-aligned movement strictly observe the principle of opposing imperialism and promoting the cause of independence, the fundamental principle of this movement, achieve political unity and economic cooperation, and wage a vigorous struggle to abol-

with the old international economic order and institute a new one, a new phase of the non-aligned movement will open.

He pointed out "The most important task confronting progress of mankind of the world at the present time is to check and foil the imperialist moves towards aggression and war and safeguard universal peace and security." He made clear that the prerequisite for the realization of independence to which priority should be given in face of the imperialist threat of nuclear disaster today is to defend world peace.

Kim Jong Il's strategy for the world's independence is the perfect programme for the revolutionary movement, for it indicates the aim, period of struggle, the question of strengthening the internal force and the way for realization.

The programme for the world's independence which is the essence of the theory of the world's revolution in the age of independence is an entirely new strategy for the transformation of the world.

The strategy and tactics for the world revolutionary movement can be correctly elucidated only by a distinguished leader of the working class of the world. Marx and Engels were the first to show the road forward to the emancipation of the working class from capital. Lenin became the pioneer of the socialist cause who started the emancipation of the working class of the whole world by realizing it for the first time in the history of mankind.

President Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il have shown the way forward to national and class liberation and human emancipation to the progressive people aspiring for independence and are leading the struggle for internationalization.

## 2. Banner of Reconstruction of Socialism

The socialist force is the main contingent holding a pivotal position among the main agents for world independence. It is related to the position and role which the working class and its vanguard party play in the new independent world free from domination and subordination by imperialism.

Without the leading role of the working class and its vanguard parties

neither the forces for national independence can hew their way in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism nor can the forces in defence of democracy and peace attain their strategic goal. The anti-imperialist, national-liberation movement, non-aligned movement and the movement for democracy and peace can accomplish the world's independence only through the active role of the socialist force, the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The collapse of socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries due to the anti-revolutionary moves of the imperialists in collusion with the contemporary social democrats greatly impaired the pivotal position of the socialist forces in advancing the anti-imperialist, independence cause.

The questions, "Is socialism the ideal the mankind aspires towards?" "Is socialism the historical shore the third world should reach?" are awaiting practical answers. Therefore, it is the key task decisive of success or failure of the cause of the world's independence to overcome these grim trials never known before in the international revolutionary movement reconstruct socialism on a new basis and secure victory for the cause of socialism.

### 1) Defence of the Cause of Socialism

Kim Jong Il is doing his utmost to strengthen the socialist force in the world. He has given a clear answer to the theoretical and practical questions arising in removing the differences in opinion between socialist countries, achieving unity and cohesion, upholding the anti-imperialist banner without cease, laying down by the communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries the solid class foundations of socialism and rallying broad sections of the working people into the socialist force and leading the developing countries to open up the road to socialism, and promoted the cause of socialism with unusual political leadership ability on a worldwide scale.

Early in the first half of the 1960s Kim Jong Il energetically opposed Khrushchev's revisionism to achieve unity and cohesion in the international revolutionary movement.

Already in his university days he had a profound understanding of inadequacy of "cathicism" in France and British Fabianism and Russian



"legitimate Marxism", "principle of economization" and "Menshevikism" as the first opportunist ideological trends which emerged in the international revolutionary movement. On this basis he analysed the anti-historical essence and harm of Left and right opportunism and set forth the revolutionary principle and stand to be adhered to in the struggle against opportunism in his works *Let Us Oppose Contemporary Revisionism and Hold Fast to the Revolutionary Stand of Our Party* and *On the Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature*. In the latter half of the '60s, when differences of opinion and confrontation between some socialist countries surfaced, he put forth questions of principle for removing the differences in opinion from the standpoint of defending independence and achieving unity and cohesion.

It is widely known that on his visit to China in June, 1983 he made a priceless contribution to the struggle for the victory of the cause of socialism in the world.

Kim Jong Il energetically advanced the cause of socialism along the path of independence in the complicated international situation of the latter half of the 1980s, and this was of particular significance in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of the socialist forces and the new independent world.

Around that time, modern imperialism, led by the United States, went on the offensive in accordance with the "strategy of peaceful transition" aimed at the collapse of socialism while clinging to power politics.

1 The "strategy of peaceful transition" from socialism to capitalism is the policy towards socialism the United States adopted from the '50s. It was put into effect for several years. It was the strategy for the destruction of socialism which was implemented on a full scale in the '90s when the ruling circles in the former Soviet Union changed one after the other.

On the other hand, when Gorbachev came to power, the contemporary revisionists who appeared in the forefront of society came out with a policy of reform and opening to the outside world called "new thinking" or *perestroika*, acting in concert with the United States' "strategy of peaceful transition". They called socialism an "inhumane, undemocratic society" and advocated building a better, "humane and democratic socialism" based on social democracy.

Acting in concert with the splitist moves of the modern imperialists, the

contemporary social democrats dismembered the Soviet Union with us over a 70-year-long history, and knocked over Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe like dominoes in order to destroy socialism and bring about the revival of capitalism.

Liquidation of the former Soviet Union and the collapse of the Eastern European socialist countries made it a pressing task for the world revolutionary movement to make clear the true colours of the advocates of *perestroika* and the cause of collapse of socialism in those countries.

But most diagnosis was wide of the mark. In these circumstances, the advocates of *perestroika* justified their betrayal, saying that the idea of socialism itself was wrong, while the imperialists sang the praises of "the victory of capitalism", calling it the "end of socialism".

It was a pressing need at the time for the defence and promotion of the cause of socialism to disclose the true colours of *perestroika* and give a scientific exposition of the situation in Eastern Europe.

It was Kim Jong Il who gave correct answer to this question.

"The crumbling of socialism in various countries does not mean the failure of socialism as a science, but the bankruptcy of opportunism which has corrupted socialism".

Above all, he disclosed the true colours of the proponents of *perestroika* who justified the betrayal which led to degeneration and collapse of socialism and proved the absurdity of their slanders against socialism.

According to the diagnosis of the essence of *perestroika*, it was contemporary social democracy which paved the way for the "peaceful transition" from socialism to capitalism.<sup>2</sup>

2 Social democracy is the term those who aspired after socialism in the latter half of the 19th century when Marx was active used to distinguish their ideology from bourgeois democracy and was the ideological trend representative of the early "socialist idea". But it became the Right opportunist ideological trend when opportunism which cast aside the quintessence of Marxism after the death of Marx, appeared inside the Second International.

The Right opportunists adopted the opportunist stand that transition from capitalism to socialism should not be effected in a revolutionary manner but by reform. These opportunistic social democrats were called opportunistic social democrats. After a group of revolutionary social democrats separated themselves from the group of opportunist social democrats and renamed their party a communist party, the term social democracy was used to mean a Right opportunist ideological trend.

Kim Jong Il labelled *perestroika* contemporary social democracy in the sense that advocacy of 'peaceful transition' from socialism to capitalism today is tantamount in counterrevolutionary nature to social democracy which negates revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and preaches reform.

He proved that contemporary social democracy is the ideological trend for a bourgeois revival to degenerate socialism and make it revert to capitalism.

The advocates of *perestroika* pursued the "welfare society" as the true path which combines the "capitalist economic effect" with "socialist social measures" but which is neither socialist nor capitalist, and they came forward with Swedish-style social democracy as a successful model. They maintained that capitalism had acquired the ability to develop by accepting elements of the socialist experience in the socio-economic sphere in the course of its coexistence with socialism and had become the "ideal society." They went so far as to say that it was necessary to learn from this.

He condemned "social democratic capitalism", which *perestroika* sets as a model, as an exploiter society where the poor become poorer and the rich, richer, and where independence of the working people is violated. He condemned the "third path" as meaning the revival of capitalism.

He proved that "political pluralism" publicized by the advocates of *perestroika* is none other than a method of capitalist government.

It is his opinion that "political pluralism" whose essence is liberalism in ideology, the multiparty system in politics and diversity in the form of ownership, is peculiar to capitalism based on individualism, and is incompatible with socialism based on collectivism.

He said that the introduction of pluralism in a socialist society fosters individualism and liberalism that encroach upon the common interests of society break the unity and cohesion of the popular masses and produce social disorder and chaos, with the result that the foundations of socialism are destroyed. If liberalism is allowed in ideology anti-socialist ideological trends will spread, if the multiparty system is introduced, anti-socialist political parties will scramble for power, and if private ownership is allowed, the economic foundations of socialism will be destroyed with the birth of a bourgeoisie. Such are his conclusions.

His classic work *Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable* is widely known as a document of particular significance which points out the way to defend

the cause of socialism from all kinds of abuses on the part of the imperialists and of those who oppose socialism.

Kim Jong Il rejects as absurd sophistry the claim of the enemies of socialism that socialism is "totalitarianism", "regimented" and "administrative and commanding" and that it crumbled for these reasons. These abuses of the contemporary social democrats are the product of the anti-socialist moves of the imperialists, and they are none other than the machinations of the contemporary social democrats to justify their betrayal as the lackeys of imperialists which led to the collapse of socialism, and to hinder the revival of socialism.

He gave his reasons for saying that the claim that socialism is "totalitarianism", "regimented" and "administrative and commanding" is absurd sophistry which distorts the essence of socialism.

The claim that socialism is "totalitarianism" is sophistry to distort socialist collectivism, the basic ideology of socialism, and to emasculate the essential superiority of socialism.

Socialist collectivism is the idea which reflects the natural requirements of the working people. This noble idea has nothing to do with totalitarianism, advocated by such fascist dictators as Hitler and Mussolini.

The way those opposed to socialism attach the label "totalitarianism", stretching its meaning as if the misuse of power by and the bureaucracy of the ruling circles revealed in the countries where socialism crumbled are the natural product of socialism, shows how crafty they are.

The claim that socialism is "regimented" is sophistry to distort the essential superiority of the socialist system which guarantees an independent and creative life for the working people.

That the party and the state of the working class take responsibility for providing people with material and cultural life does not suppress the free and rich life of individuals. Socialist political organizational life does not fetter human rights. The socialist order which guarantees democratic freedom and rights for the people does not restrain "liberty" and "democracy" for individuals.

The claim that socialism is "administrative and commanding" is sophistry to negate the democratic centralism which is an important principle of the socialist state, and to do away with state ownership of the means of production. In the countries where socialism has collapsed, an error was committed by considering the question of the main motive force of socialist

development only in the light of economic factors, but not of giving full play to the concerted efforts of the working people. The social democrats, dazzled by the "material prosperity" of capitalism, said that a way to the "democratic" development of the economy should be opened, slandering state ownership of the means of production and the unified central planning of the state. This sophistry is used by the contemporary social democrats who created chaos and destroyed the socialist economic management system while negating the centralist system on the pretext of "democracy" to justify their betrayal.

Kim Jong Il developed and perfected scientific socialist theory and proved the truth, necessity and inextinguishability of people-centred, that is, working-people-centred socialism, while refuting the accusations of its renegades of socialism.

"The Juche-orientated theory of socialism scientifically clarified the essence of socialism and the laws governing its development, by placing people at the centre. On this basis, it is explained that if the building of socialism is to succeed, a vigorous struggle must be waged to occupy the two fortresses of socialism and communism, the ideological and material fortresses, and that here, absolute precedence must be given to the struggle to take the ideological fortress."

The historic task of placing socialism on a new scientific basis was fulfilled by the Juche idea and the Juche-oriented socialist theory based on it. Kim Jong Il placed socialism on a new scientific basis by establishing the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and everything, and the lawfulness of social movement as the movement of the main agents. The essence of the cause of socialism is that it is for the people themselves to realize completely their independence. He stressed the need to take the ideological and material fortresses, that is, the two fortresses of communism, which is essential for the building of socialism. The people-centred socialism established in North Korea in accordance with the Juche-oriented theory of socialism proves the historical inevitability and victory of socialism and the essential superiority of socialism.

The people-centred socialism of North Korea is in accordance with the Juche-oriented theory of socialism and offers bright prospects for the conviction that socialism will be reconstructed on a new basis.

He wrote about the certainty of victory of socialism in his works, including *The History of the Juche Idea*, *Building Socialism in the Concrete*

*Line of Our Party* (January 1992), *On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building* (October 1992), *Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable* (March 1993).

It is Kim Jong Il's macroscopic view of the collapse of socialism that this collapse and the revival of capitalism in some countries, when viewed in the light of the main tide of historical development, are only a temporary phenomenon. He said that when anything is wrong with us we must find the reason in ourselves, not elsewhere, and stressed the need to clarify the cause of the collapse of socialism and learn lessons from it.

He views the collapse of socialism in some countries as an outcome of conspiracy and collusion on the part of the imperialists and the counterrevolutionary forces, and as a result of the ideological and cultural infiltration of imperialism and of the corrosive action of Right opportunist ideas. According to the collapse was the role played by the counterrevolutionary schemes of the renegades of socialism in those countries.

He considers that the reason for the collapse is that in those countries they did not put the main emphasis on strengthening the internal force for building socialism and on enhancing its role. They failed to understand the essence of socialism, of centring on the popular masses, the makers of the country. They failed to advance socialism by depending on the united strength of the working people, the builders of socialism, because socialism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries was built on the basis of the matter-centred principle and not of the man-centred idea.

When they met with difficulties they lost faith and yielded to the oppression and pressure of the imperialists instead of persisting in their struggle and giving full play to revolutionary consciousness and creativity.

He considers that another reason why socialism in some countries collapsed is that they failed to recognize the qualitative differences between socialism and capitalism, and did not adhere consistently to the fundamental principles of socialism.

The ruling circles in these countries failed to recognize the qualitative differences between socialism and capitalism because they harboured illusions about the "material prosperity" of capitalism and succumbed to the pressure of imperialism, so failing to draw a clear distinction between the superiority of socialism and the reactionary character of capitalism. They did not adhere consistently to the basic principles of socialism that the



independent needs and interests of the working people must be defended and pursued and to the revolutionary principles of socialism, such as the leadership of the party of the working class, the unified guidance of the socialist state, maintenance of socialist ownership of the means of production and a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist stand.

The collapse of socialism in some countries was also due to the fact that they did not strengthen international solidarity based on independence in relations between parties of socialist countries.

The socialist ruling parties had the wrong relations of domination and subordination between them instead of establishing independence and forming sound and comradely mutual relations, such as international solidarity based on independence.

Kim Jong Il has given the reasons why socialism collapsed. The great significance in this lies in that it enables the communist and workers' parties to learn the historical lessons from the collapse of socialism in some countries, and to reconstruct socialism to meet the essential needs of the cause of socialism.

## 2) The Pyongyang Declaration—Programme for the Reconstruction of Socialism

It is the requirement of the time, in line with the law governed process of historical development and the desire of progressive mankind, to revive the cause of socialism on the basis of new thinking. The cause of socialism is a just cause for realizing the independence of the working people. The advance of mankind towards socialism is the mainstream of historical development that cannot be checked. However, the situation is serious.

Dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe caused ideological confusion in many third-world countries and in communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries and caused their faith in socialism to waver. The international communist movement is going through great trials and pains. Those who fail to understand the state of affairs waver ideologically, and communists are at a loss, not knowing what to do.

Kim Jong Il who is clear about the situation is sure that although there may be twists and turns in the course of the development of socialism, the

main direction of historical development cannot change and the cause of socialism will certainly be victorious. He has pointed out the need to wage a struggle for the reconstruction of socialism on a worldwide scale.

"Today the defence of the cause of socialism and its triumphant advance is a very important matter which concerns the destiny of mankind."

The cause of socialism is a great undertaking to realize the independence of the popular masses and the ideal of mankind. Therefore an important question related to the destiny of mankind is to defend the cause of socialism and revive and reconstruct socialism which collapsed in some countries.

Revival and reconstruction of socialism means, in the true sense of the term, a reconstruction movement in the countries where socialism collapsed. In a wide sense, it covers the movement in which the developing countries retake a socialist orientation, and the communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries readjust themselves. Viewed in the light of its character, it means to build socialism anew on the basis of the Juche idea, the leading idea of the age of independence.

Marxism-Leninism explained the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialism and brought socialism from utopia to reality. But it revealed its limitations. It did not consider socialism as a people-centred principle but as a process of natural history which develops by means of material and economic factors. Hence it failed to solve the question of the basic way forward for socialist construction.

Kim Jong Il pointed out the historical position of the Juche idea as the leading idea of the age of independence way back in the first half of the 70s.

He said, "We can say without hesitation that today in our age there is no leading idea except the Juche idea that can lead revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism and communism to victory."

He developed in depth the Juche idea expounding a new principle and theory and has established a theory of socialism which embodies the Juche idea, the Juche-oriented theory of socialism, as an integrated whole.

The truth and justness of the Juche-oriented theory of socialism has been proved in practice by the reality of socialist construction in north Korea.

Therefore the movement for socialist reconstruction in the world community can be successful when it takes the Juche idea as the leading idea

and is led by the Juche-oriented theory of socialism.

The 70 delegations from communist and workers' parties and progressive political parties in different countries in the world which gathered in Pyongyang in April 1992 on the occasion of the 80th birthday of the great leader President Kim Il Sung adopted the Pyongyang Declaration "Let Us Defend and Advance the Cause of Socialism", a historic declaration that expressed their determination to reconstruct socialism anew on the basis of the Juche idea.

These delegates held bilateral and multilateral talks and had a full debate with the Workers' Party of Korea as the main axis—the Party which is making big strides in carrying on the cause of socialism without being affected by the anti-socialist offensive of imperialism.

They examined the reasons why socialism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and some other countries, clarified the true nature and reactionary character of modern revisionism represented by *perestroika* and discussed how to defend the cause of socialism from the slanders of the imperialists, and how to reconstruct it anew. They expressed great sympathy with the justness, truth and viability of the Juche-oriented socialism, in the light of Kim Jong Il's classic works concerning the cause of socialism and the reality of north Korea, and had confidence that it was the road for them to follow.

They reached common understanding on a number of important issues. One of them was that the cause of socialism must be advanced under the banner of a new socialist idea. This means that it must embody the Juche-oriented socialist idea, and not the Marxist-Leninist socialist idea of the past. Another issue was that a common programme for socialist reconstruction, a charter must be prepared. As the banner of struggle, the common programme called *The Communist Manifesto*, made possible the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism towards the close of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, so a new charter capable of guiding socialist reconstruction today must be put forward.

The Pyongyang Declaration was adopted to meet the demand of the heads and delegates of communist and workers' parties from different countries which aspire to socialism.

48 heads and delegates from 70 communist and workers' parties in the world put their signatures to the declaration on April 20, 1992.

Attaching great significance to the fact that vanguard parties of the

working class from different countries took part in the adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration, party delegates from different countries stressed that it was the first great meeting since the Moscow conference of communist and workers' parties from different countries in 1960.

The declaration began by stating the reason for its adoption, "Party delegates from different countries in the world who are fighting for the victory of socialism adopt this declaration with the firm confidence to defend and advance the cause of socialism". The declaration stated that the present age is the age of independence and clarified the position and essence of the cause of socialism in the present age, i.e. that it is a sacred cause for independence of the people and that socialism, in essence, is a genuine people's society where the working people are masters of everything and where everything serves them. The declaration further states, in order to defend and advance the cause of socialism, the political parties aspiring after socialism must hold fast to independence, build up their force solidly, work out lines and policies to suit their specific conditions and the desires of the people and carry them out by depending on the working people, advance under the banner of socialism and hold fast to revolutionary principles under all circumstances, all the parties should strengthen ties of comradeship, unity, cooperation and solidarity on the principle of independence and equality, the parties aspiring after socialism should defend and advance socialism and strengthen mutual support and solidarity in the struggle against the domination of imperialism and the subjugation by capital and neo-colonialism, and for social justice, democracy, the right to existence and peace.<sup>3</sup>

3. Ours is an era of independence and the socialist cause is aimed at realizing the independence of the popular masses.

Some imperialist and reactionary forces in some countries in recent years. As a consequence of this, the imperialists and reactionaries are claiming that socialism has come to an end. This is nothing but a sophistry to beautify and embellish capitalism and pervert the old order.

The setback of socialism and the revival of capitalism in some countries are a great loss to the achievement of socialist cause, but it can never be interpreted as the denial of the superiority of socialism and of the reactionary character of capitalism.

Socialism has long been the ideal of mankind and it represents the future of mankind. Socialist society is for the people where the popular masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them.

But capitalist society is for the rich getting ever richer and the poor poorer. In this society money decides everything, exploitation of man by man prevails and a handful

of exploiter classes lords it over. It is inevitably accompanied by the utter lack of political rights, unemployment, poverty, drugs, crimes and other kinds of all social evils which trample the human dignity underfoot.

Only socialism can eliminate all manner of domination, subjugation and social inequality and ensure the people substantial freedom, equality, true democracy and human rights.

We will advance under the banner of socialism in firm unity with all progressive political parties, organizations and peoples of the world who are striving to defend socialism against capitalism and imperialism.

Let us all fight to open up the future of mankind with a firm conviction in the cause of socialism.

Final victory is in store for the people fighting in unity for socialism.

The socialist cause shall not perish.

The declaration scientifically outlines the new way for socialist reconstruction in accordance with the theory, tactics and strategy for building socialism established on the basis of the immortal Juche idea.

Kim Jong Il pointed out the historic significance of the declaration when it was issued.

"The Pyongyang Declaration reflects firm determination to defend and promote the cause of socialism. Its publication is of epochal significance in strengthening the international unity and solidarity of the revolutionary parties and in promoting the socialist cause."

The adopting of the Pyongyang Declaration made it possible to prepare a common programme for opening up a new path for the cause of socialism on the basis of the Juche idea, and for the revolutionary parties aspiring after socialism to strengthen their internationalist unity and solidarity on the basis of a common idea, and energetically advance the cause of socialism. It inspired the world's revolutionary people aspiring after independence with faith in victory and enhanced their fighting spirit by confirming the truth and justness of the cause of socialism and inevitability of its ultimate victory. At the same time, it dealt a telling blow to the imperialists and reactionaries who caused the anti-socialist wind.

The progressive figures of the world appreciated the declaration as the "communist manifesto of the 20th century" and as a programme for socialist reconstruction.

Adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration which reflects the firm will to defend and advance the cause of socialism brought about an important change in the international revolutionary movement. An end was put to the

temporary confusion in the ranks of the communist movement and the movement for socialist reconstruction was activated.

In some countries the revolutionary forces for socialism are being reorganized, and in some other countries the revolutionary parties have been rebuilt, and the position of the communist movement is being readjusted or conditions for the extension and development of the communist movement have been created.

Enthusiasm for socialist reconstruction rose in the East European countries where socialism had collapsed. On the occasion of the first anniversary of publication of the declaration, an international symposium on the building of communist and workers' parties in the Eastern European socialist countries was held in Bratislava in Slovakia, a meeting of different Russian political parties and organizations was convened in Moscow and the activities of political parties aspiring after socialism became active.

Progressive political parties in the former Soviet Union and East European countries where socialism collapsed are joining the ranks for socialist reconstruction. Progressive political parties of Asia, Africa and Latin America which wavered temporarily are fighting for the creation of a new society aspiring after socialism on the basis of the Pyongyang Declaration.

In April 1993, in Kotonu, the capital of the Republic of Benin, the progressive political parties of Africa which had put their signatures to the Pyongyang Declaration held an international symposium on the present situation and the tasks of the political parties and adopted a resolution to the following effect:

First, to hold fast to the banner of socialism, the invincible cause of humanity, to the end; secondly, to realize new international solidarity on the basis of the Pyongyang Declaration, "international solidarity for the independence of the people"; thirdly, to support the countries which are building socialism daringly and successfully; fourthly, to realize unity and solidarity of the progressive forces which are staunchly fighting to strengthen the independence of the people and for the victory of the idea of socialism; fifthly, steadily to establish close relations with the struggle for national sovereignty and the struggle for the victory of socialism in the world on the basis of unshakable anti-imperialist solidarity and firm support to the socialist countries; sixthly, to celebrate the 20th of April every year as the "day of international solidarity for the independence of the people and the cause of socialism" in commemoration of the Pyongyang Declaration.



which gave birth to new international solidarity rousing anew the revolutionary forces of the world, seventhly, to found the Pan-African Alliance of Progressive Democrats to enlist all democratic forces and personages that strive for prosperity on the African Continent. At the same time the Alliance would wage a staunch struggle against monopoly capitalism which stole the democratic victories won by the people and against the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, two organizations which have united and are attempting a new conquest of the continent.

The communist and workers' parties and progressive political parties in capitalist countries, too, are throwing themselves into action. Before and after the first anniversary of publication of the declaration, a symposium of political parties to defend and hold fast to the cause of socialism was held in Belgium, with the participation of over 50 political parties and in Ecuador 25 political parties in Latin America held a symposium on the experience of party building. The symposiums adopted documents in defence and support of the cause of socialism.

The number of political parties which attached their signatures to the Pyongyang Declaration has tripled and amounted to 215 as of July 1994.

After the adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration, it stands out in bold relief that the movement for socialist reconstruction centring on Pyongyang, where Kim Jong Il lives is becoming active.

Delegations from progressive political parties including many communist and workers' parties in the world, visit North Korea to learn from the experience in building the Workers' Party of Korea and hold bilateral and multilateral meetings with the Workers' Party of Korea.

They say "The Workers' Party of Korea is a model to be copied by communist and workers' parties and by the parties in the developing countries. Today the Workers' Party of Korea is playing the leading role as the centre of the international communist movement with credit. We will learn from the experience in socialist construction of the Workers' Party of Korea, reconstruct the socialist movement and strengthen international support to the Workers' Party of Korea." (Co-chairman of the Party of Communists of Belorussia). "Socialism began in Europe but today socialism is spreading to Europe from Korea in the East" (head of the delegation of the Hungarian Social Labour Party). "As Moslems regard Mecca as their holy place, the obligation to visit Mecca, the sacred place of Islam, so present-day democratic countries now consider it an honour and obligation to visit Pyongyang,

Pyongyang, the bulwark and stronghold of socialism and torchlight of hope." (Secretary-General of the Pakistan Socialist Party).

Considering North Korea as the bulwark and stronghold of socialism, progressive mankind expresses its clear desire to achieve new international unity with the Workers' Party of Korea as the centre, reconstruct the cause of socialism and realize the cause of independence for mankind.

What is more important is that they are achieving unity of the anti-imperialist independent forces and the socialist forces with Kim Jong Il as the centre, singing praises of him as the symbol of socialism and as the acknowledged distinguished leader of the age of independence. Heads of progressive political parties and loved public figures aspiring after socialism extol him as the great leader of socialist reconstruction who has developed and worked out socialist theory and put it into practice and is illuminating the road to socialism. "Through actual life and experience gained in struggle we have strengthened the conviction that Comrade Kim Jong Il is an outstanding leader of the world revolution and the international communist movement, and that the socialist and communist movement in Europe will bring about a new upsurge when it follows his strategy and tactics." (Declaration of the Executive Council of the Marxist Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party). "The august name of Comrade Kim Jong Il is already known throughout the whole world. He has given correct answers to the pressing problems raised by mankind at present. The people in some countries are at a loss due to the anti-socialist machinations of the imperialists.

"At such a time, he has scientifically predicted the inevitability of socialism, created a shining example in Korea, showed the progressive people of the world the road to follow and inspired them with faith and courage. Kim Jong Il, the leading star of the age, is the acknowledged great leader in the struggle for independence for mankind and for socialism." (Secretary-General of the Dominican United Left Movement). Progressive mankind holds Kim Jong Il in high esteem as the "great leader of the age of independence" as "standard bearer of the international communist movement, the national liberation movement and the movement for world peace" as "standing leader in the cause of socialist reconstruction" as "outstanding leader to lead the 21st century" and as the "acknowledged torch of the age of independence".

All these tributes express the desire of progressive mankind to carry the cause of independence for the world to a higher plane with Kim Jong Il as the centre

### 3. For the Creation of a Peaceful New World

In order to make the world independent it is necessary to wage a vigorous international joint struggle to check and foil the moves of the imperialists towards aggression and war and to defend peace

It is an invariable attribute for imperialism to strive to dominate the world by wielding its strength. Even after the end of the East-West cold war, the ruling circles of the United States have not given up their strategy to dominate the globe by nuclear superiority. The United States continues to rearm, pushes ahead with the development, improvement, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and is intensifying aggression against progressive countries everywhere in the world. It is known that the US imperialists are extending the nuclear armament race to space, have not suspended the SDI plan and are promoting research and production of a two-element chemical weapons, a new weapon of mass destruction.

The dark cloud of nuclear war is hanging over the earth due to the war policy and nuclear threats of the imperialists. If nuclear war is not prevented, mankind will suffer utter calamity. A pressing task before progressive mankind is to prevent nuclear war and defend peace.

Kim Jong Il has set peace against war as the common task for progressive mankind. The basic task set for the anti-imperialist independent force of the world and the peace-loving people of the world is to check and foil the frantic increase in armaments and the war provocations of the imperialists, to dismantle the military bases of the United States in other countries and force the withdrawal of US troops and of weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons, to dissolve military blocs and create and extend non-nuclear zones and peace zones in different regions of the world.

This serves as the basic guide for the anti-imperialist independent force in forming an anti-imperialist united front and in waging an anti-imperialist united struggle to check the war schemes of the imperialists and to defend

peace.

Imperialism is ruthless to the weak and obsequious to the strong. It is the firm conviction of Kim Jong Il that if the anti-imperialist forces and the peace-loving forces of the world are united, they become strong and can check and foil the war schemes of the imperialists and defend world peace.

He has maintained such an anti-imperialist, peace-loving will and stand from the early '60s.

Already in his university days he pointed out that aggression and war are the nature of imperialism and its way of existence, that imperialism, consequently, is a constant source of war, and that the main force of aggression and war today is US imperialism. It is necessary to maintain a firm anti-imperialist stand resolutely to fight the imperialist aggressors, without fearing war, with the conviction that peace can be won only through resolute struggle against the imperialists. He made clear other questions arising in the struggle against war and for peace and has energetically pushed ahead in the struggle to implement them.

The desire of mankind to live independently without aggression and domination is precisely the desire for peace. People in the third world are oppressed and exploited by US imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism. The United States is using violence everywhere in the world. Peace can be won only through the anti-imperialist, anti-US struggle.

It is of great significance that in leading the anti-imperialist united struggle, Kim Jong Il sees to it that all anti-imperialist forces are united and direct their attack against US imperialism.

Already in the 1960s, he condemned the US blockade of Cuba and the extension of the Vietnam war as acts of the stronger preying on the weaker to invade militarily and dominate small countries, and saw to it that all the countries defending independence rendered support and assistance to the anti-US struggle of the Vietnamese and Cuban peoples. Victory of the Vietnamese people in the anti-US national salvation struggle and achievement of national unification displayed the might of the anti-US solidarity struggle fought on a worldwide scale.

In the '70s, he displayed his leadership ability to such effect that the imperialists' interference in the third-world countries with socialist leanings and the military threat to them were opposed and the anti-imperialist solidarity movement was daringly launched.

After the start of the '80s, he ensured that voices were roused against

imperialism and the United States to counter the military threats and aggression and economic blockades imposed by the modern imperialists to destroy socialist countries and to check the advance of the countries towards socialism in the international arena. Thus, the struggle to denounce the criminal acts of the US imperialists and defend and hold fast to the cause of independence was vigorously launched on all continents.

In early 1990, when the United States started its anti-Cuban trial balloons and infiltrated several aircraft carriers into Cuban waters bringing the situation to the brink of war, he expressed to the world community his conviction that the United States could not stamp out the Cuban revolution. He saw to it that a solidarity movement was widely launched in support of Cuban socialism.

His political leadership ability to defend and hold fast to the independence cause of mankind through anti-imperialist struggle was proved by the victory he won in the recent confrontation with the United States. The "nuclear suspicion" racket the United States drummed up against north Korea in the '90s was tantamount to a provocation of war without the sound of gunfire to crush north Korea, the stronghold of socialism, and to do away with socialism and the anti-imperialist independence force in the world. The world's people apprehensively watched to see whether north Korea would hold out against the high-handed and arrogant United States.

Kim Jong Il responded with the invincible authoritative attitude of not fearing even military confrontation. He put the opponents on the defensive by making the initiative declaring a state of semi-war, at the same time pursuing the diplomatic strategy of allowing former US President Carter's visit to north Korea, and eventually the will of Juche Korea prevailed.

Socialist forces, the anti-imperialist forces, the non-alignment movement, the peace movement and other independent forces in the world recognized this as the victory for them too and were greatly inspired by it.

Kim Jong Il has made north Korea a model in the anti-war peace struggle and is leading the cause of independence for the world.

He has put his main efforts into removing tension in northeast Asia, a region fraught with the danger of another war, and into securing peace.

The danger of another war breaking out in northeast Asia was caused by the United States which aggravated tension. Regarding the area as a "vitally important region" for the United States, its ruling circles have concentrated their armed forces there. The United States has long stationed many troops

in south Korea, Okinawa and on the mainland of Japan. It has deployed its Seventh Fleet on the seas around them, covering the area with a network of bases for US land, sea and air forces. It has made the area of northeast Asia its nuclear armory. The United States mapped out a nuclear war plan against north Korea long ago, has established an operational system for its implementation and conducts the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, a nuclear war exercise, every year, throwing in even the troops from the U.S. itself.

On the other hand, the United States has formed a tripartite military alliance of the United States, Japan and south Korea in northeast Asia. The danger of another war in this region has been growing daily due to the war policy of the United States.

Perceiving such a trend in the situation, Kim Jong Il has made every effort to put into force President Kim Il Sung's plan of creating a non-nuclear peace zone in northeast Asia to establish permanent peace in this region.

As an important measure to this end, he saw that a joint statement by the Workers' Party of Korea and the Japan Socialist Party on the creation of a non-nuclear, peace zone in the northeast Asian region was adopted in the early 1980s.

The publication of this joint statement constituted a new milestone in the struggle of the people in this region for peace in Asia and the world.

Kim Jong Il has made consistent efforts for non-nuclearization of the whole of the Korean peninsula, and got the north-south talks to adopt a "joint declaration of non-nuclearization" between north and south Korea at the beginning of 1992.

In addition, he got the Workers' Party of Korea and the government of the DPRK to support and assist in every way the anti-imperialist and peace movement of the people of all countries in the world, including the struggle of the inhabitants to turn the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, and the struggle of the people in the Caribbean region to turn it into a zone of peace, independence and development.

Kim Jong Il put his leadership ability to good effect so that the world journalists' conference held in Pyongyang in July 1983 served as a good occasion for developing the united struggle for peace and against imperialism. The "World Journalists' Conference against Imperialism and for Friendship and Peace" was successfully held, attended by 169 delegations



and delegates from 118 countries and 17 international organizations. Kim Jong Il showed great concern for this conference. The conference adopted a declaration which set forth concrete tasks for preventing the danger of another world war and for defending world peace and security.

Kim Jong Il wisely guided the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students to be a festival of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

Towards the end of the 1980s, when this festival was to be held in Pyongyang, confrontation between imperialism and the forces of independence in the international arena was acute. The United States' peaceful transition strategy for the former Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries was at its height.

Under these circumstances it became the concern of the world as to what idea the festival would uphold. What was important here was whether or not the festival would put forward the slogan of anti-imperialism, which can be said to have been the traditional character of the festival.

Kim Jong Il, who perceived that a serious debate would be held on this question, indicated the need for the Pyongyang festival to give greater prominence to its anti-imperialist character than had any other festival, and proposed making "anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship" the idea of the festival.

Under his energetic guidance, the Pyongyang festival proved to be a great political festival the like of which had never before been seen in history, and it won the support and sympathy of the progressive youth and students and of the anti-imperialist, anti-nuclear and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

The world's people saw the stronghold of independence, socialism and world peace rising majestically in the East through the Pyongyang festival and found there the road for them to follow.

The end of confrontation between the superpowers and of the cold war did not make the world dominated by imperialism and capitalism but increased the desire of progressive mankind for independence. On the threshold of the new century the struggle of the anti-imperialist, independence forces striving to create a new independent world freed from imperialist domination and subjugation has entered a new, higher stage.

Voices are heard here and there in the world that in the 21st century the world will become independent in accordance with the Juche-oriented blueprint advanced by Kim Jong Il.

The statement issued on the founding of the Liaison Council of Japan Kim Jong Il's Works Study Society, on the occasion of his 52nd birthday in February, 1994, says, "Learning from Comrade Kim Jong Il, we came to understand deeply that he is a great leader for the new age."

## IX. A Man Amongst Men

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## 1. The Great Commoner

If one wants to make a character sketch of Kim Jong Il, one should begin with the point that he is a "great commoner"

Commoner means an ordinary man, not belonging to the privileged stratum. In truth, the popular character of a leader lies in the fact that he possesses the character of the ordinary people, that is, of the working masses and that he does not put on authoritarian airs. In other words it is characterized by modesty, simplicity, unceremoniousness, plainheartedness and honesty etc.

Usually there is not a ruler who does not speak for the people's welfare, but few are popular-based governors who are informal with people and breathe the same air as them. As is stated by the proposition that "government is not a science but a technique", a statesman without any guiding ideas and ideals, or political philosophy, and Machiavellian-type politicians who lay store by versatile statecraft and stratagem regard the masses as the mere objects to be ruled. Here their sincerity towards the masses is non-existent.

However, Kim Jong Il is a man of the ordinary people, literally the great commoner possessed of a rare popular character unheard of in history. His popular character is a blend of the commoner family tradition of the historic house of Mangyongdae which had come through all sorts of unendurable destitution and ordeals, hardship and sufferings, and the people-oriented features of President Kim Il Sung, the peerless man, who worshipped people as his god. And all this has combined to become an inalienable part of Kim Jong Il, he loves people infinitely, trusts them unconditionally and devotes his all to them, proceeding from the mass-based Juche-oriented outlook on the world.

In drawing his image as one of the common people, one should above all note his modesty.

Let me tell a story familiar to us.

In the summer of 1961, he took part in a project to widen Wasan-dong-Ryongsong street in Pyongyang. One day an old woman came to take away

the coal burned on the construction site. He put the coal into her bucket and carried it himself. Upon learning who that kindhearted young man was, she hurried back to see him and apologized to him for not having recognized him.

"Don't mention it, Grandmother," he said warmly holding her hands in his. "I am also a son of the working people. I do not mind it a bit if it is for the benefit of the people. Nothing is more splendid than working for the people."

"I am also a son of the working people", this short sentence exposes in depth the true nature of his personality. He always exerts himself to cultivate the mind and habit of humbling much of man, respecting the masses and never putting himself above the people. His example reaffirms the truth that a leader's noble personality originates from his deference to and humility before the masses. This is because he regards the people as his teacher and exercises government learning from them.

Traditionally, respecting one's tutor was considered inviolable etiquette and the yardstick of moral cultivation.

Just like common folk he has many teachers he esteems. He does not forget the kindergarten teachers, school teachers and professors who taught him in his childhood and youth. One day he noticed his old foreign language mistress passing in the street. He stopped the car and, after paying due respects to her, gave her a lift to her destination. When parting, she bowed to him, saying "Dear Comrade Leader, I thank you enormously. Good-bye, sir."

"What nonsense! You call your pupil the leader. You are my teacher. I'd like you to address me as you did in the past," Thus he wished her good-bye, revering her as he had in old days. So, even after he was elected the supreme leader of the Worker's Party of Korea, he gladly recognized his old school teachers. Saying that he was deeply indebted to them, he called on them now and then and, when he happened to meet them in the street, he would get out of his car and bow to them respectfully.

Of all the teachers enjoying his respect, there is a particular one whom he worships and whom he consults even now. One winter day toward the close of 1964, he summoned an official and asked him how they could solve the knotty problem of traffic in the city. The official asked for a week to think about it. At this answer, he suggested they would consult the teachers at eight that evening. At the appointed time, he and the official got on a



bus to listen to what the citizens had to say. He changed buses to meet the bus repair workers. He returned to his office at eleven o'clock. The following morning, he gave the official several sheets of paper giving his opinions and measures to solve the traffic problem. These summed up the opinions of the bus riders, the driver and the bus repair workers. Looking at the official who was struck with admiration, he remarked he had only noted down what his teachers had said and added that the people he had met the previous evening were tutors worthy of worship. The official realized then that his teachers were not grizzled aged professors or doctors but simple, open-hearted people familiar to him in everyday life.

His noble conception of the "people" refers to the mechanic he met at a bus terminal, the farmer he happened to come across on a ridge between the rice fields and a young schoolchild who told him the name of a herb. Since he adores the masses and learns from them at all times, he can embody the inexhaustible presage and wisdom, boldness and passion, experience and knowledge of the masses; the birthplace of his great virtues is the vast sea of the masses.

In order to become a son loved by the popular masses, he has made up his mind to humbly learn from the people all his life, and this is his motto. This is what distinguishes him from other leaders in the world.

He not only humbles himself but also refrains from presenting himself before the public. This is another side to his modesty. Representing the ardent desire of the north Korean people to esteem him as "dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il", some publications have printed this expression. Referring to this, he noted that he did not like to show himself off, that it was nonsense to call a soldier of the great President the "dear leader" or "respected leader", and that since this was ostentatious they should not address him as "leader". Then he called in an official and told him to see to the matter at once and severely punish officials who encouraged such a thing. This instruction, however, remained on the shelf. Informed of this, he summoned the official and warned him seriously that he would not pardon him if he did not do as he was instructed. Considering the importance of his title, the members of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the WPK held a meeting without notifying him and discussed his title of honor as an item on the agenda. They adopted an official decision to give him the title "dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il". Nevertheless, this met with his stubborn opposition. Soon followed the Tenth Plenary Meeting of

the Fifth Party Central Committee, when the Political Committee members proposed calling him "dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il". This proposal was adopted unanimously. Thus the title "dear leader" was justified by the desire of the masses, though it failed to obtain his consent. As the saying goes, "A drop of water mirrors the universe", one can easily grasp how humble Kim Jong Il is as a soldier of the President though he was elected the successor to President Kim Il Sung and a new leader, and how great is his personality characterized by modesty. Since he dislikes making a hero of himself, he forbade any organized welcome when out on a local tour to give on-the-spot guidance.

It is said that when he directed on-the-spot work in North Hamgyong Province in May 1974, and in Unryul, South Hwanghae Province, in June 1975, he made the inspection after the welcoming crowd was dispersed. He even declines honor due to him. A decision was adopted to award him the Kim Il Sung Order, the supreme decoration in north Korea, and the title of Hero of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in acknowledgement of his merits and feats. At that time, he refused to receive these, saying that he had done nothing which entitled him to commendation. For this reason, it was possible only seven years later to award him the Kim Il Sung Order. The Spanish writer Miguel said that for man no praise was dearer and higher than to be called humble, and Henri, an English statesman and publicist, remarked that one's humility is the lamp which illumines one's merits. The north Korean people feel affinity for and trust in him, touched by his unaffected humility and deference, and they respect him from the bottom of their hearts. This is only natural.

Simplicity, in addition to humility, is one of the notable virtues that illustrate his appearance as a commoner. He does not put up a paper curtain between the masses and himself and does not put on authoritarian airs, this is the unanimous opinion of the masses.

In his school days, Kim Jong Il went with his comrades to construction sites where he would carry a full load of earth in a straw mat slung on a pole and shouldered by two men until his shoulders got swollen. When an excavator broke down he went to a factory with the broken part and repaired it himself, getting his clothes stained with oil like a mechanic. In rural villages he helped transplant rice seedlings and prepare green manure, and shared lunch with farmers on the grass. He is so simple and carefree that every one finds it easy to be with him no matter whether he is worker,

farmer or intellectual, and he spares no pains in work. Such outlook on the people and approach to life have made him very popular.

His popular character is also revealed by his plain living. In June 1985, President Kim Il Sung told a responsible cadre: "Kim Jong Il is very simple and plain in everyday life. From childhood he disliked living luxuriously, he always ate the food his friends ate, wore similar clothes and possessed the same things. He used to share the special food and things given him with his friends.

"Look at him in plain clothes. When his comrades are wearing fashionable clothes and neckties, he is always in a simple jumper. Our workers must live a simple and frugal life as Comrade Kim Jong Il does."

His high-collared jacket popular in north Korea or jumper-type jacket is familiar to people. As seen through the camera lens, he is dressed like this when he attends state functions and receives foreign guests. When the people wore staple fibre clothes, he dressed himself in the same kind of suit. When they wore vinylon suits, he did also. This is how he usually appears. While he spares no efforts to provide the people with fine clothes and shoes, he keeps to his usual outfit, mended clothes and shoes at that. Thus he is little different from the common folk.

When he is out on a local tour for on-the-spot guidance, he is said to have a few rice balls with seasoned filling prepared for his meals.

Saying that he loved to eat rice balls in his car on a tour for field guidance, he remarked:

"As all our people did, I also ate rice balls in the years of the Fatherland Liberation War and during the postwar rehabilitation. When I visited construction sites, I had fist-sized rice balls wrapped in paper stuck into my pocket, and ate them with my friends on the grass at rest times. They tasted wonderful.

"So I eat rice balls occasionally and look back on those bygone days so full of hardship, and I gain strength from it."

As is seen here, he has not forgotten the difficult days of the past even now when people have ample food. With the sole desire to become one with the masses he lives a frugal life and devoted his all to the cause of serving the people.

Probity and cleanhandedness should never be forgotten when speaking about his popular character.

He was born with a pure, upright character. One always must live a

purehearted, selfless and healthy life; this is the creed that governs his activities, and his constant, instructive demands binding on the officials of north Korea.

He used to tell officials that they should never get more daily necessities than the ration. No one is allowed to violate the rules laid down by the Party and the state. They say, "A muddy spring will give rise to muddy streams", and only when one is fair-minded and clean-living, may one be looked up to as a model....

He is uprighteous, thrifty and unblemished in his private life. These are some of his strong points, I should say. Such a noble personality gains him the respect of the people, and this leads to realizing the integral whole of the leader and the masses.

He strictly bans privileges on the part of leading functionaries, saying it is an inadmissible practice in our Party that the superior lives a better life than his subordinates and expects privileges; and the former must share the rice out of the same pot as his men, just as the commanding officers of the anti-Japanese guerrillas did.

This represents his viewpoint on equality and his simple life style. He personally sets an example and advises the cadres working under him to be pure and clean. This is the spring giving rise to the trend of the pure, upright life and the unity of superiors and subordinates which prevail in north Korean society. As it is said, "A noble personality rather than one's power endears one to all." His modest, free and easy, and upright popular manner is his charm that attracts people to him.

Today the people of north Korea love to sing song *Charm*, eulogizing his noble personality. Singing the song, the people are fascinated by his personal charm coming from the popular features peculiar to him.

## 2. Personification of Fidelity

A leader of the masses acquired a noble personality. This manifests itself in noble virtues permeated with warm love and concern for the masses. Owing to this he stands at the centre of unity of a harmonious family and has become the benevolent father of all members of society. The mass-

es adore the leader are fascinated by his upright character, deem it the greatest happiness to serve him loyally and commit their destiny to him.

Of the virtues of the leader, the essential factor which makes the masses and the leader share the same destiny and ties both together with bonds of kinship is the sense of profound fidelity. Generally, it is said that one lives and dies in fidelity. Moved by the unswerving and warm fidelity of the leader, the masses commit their life and destiny to him and follow him to the end of their lives. The faithless statesman is a quack politician who regards the masses as a mere political instrument. Man is by nature social being, and ethics and the noble attributes of man began with the emergence of society. So people call those who have saved them from the pit of adversity or from the jaws of death as benefactors. And they deem it their obligation to repay this sincerely to the last moment of their lives.

In short, ethics means the sense of duty one should have as a human being. In this sense, faithfulness is an essential attribute of all social beings. It is particularly important for the leader who guides and commands the people.

The leader Kim Jong Il's fidelity in his relations with comrades with whom he was acquainted on the road of revolution is expressed at the highest level. And he has enriched the ethical concept of duty by saying that he is "blessed with good people" and so obliged to dedicate himself to the welfare of the people. This is why people hail him as the incarnation of fidelity.

Speaking of his lofty sense of duty, President Kim Il Sung noted that Kim Jong Il had profound sense of duty and was a man of uncommon character who looked after anyone who shared his ideals and who joined hands with him for life.

A leader's fidelity is expressed in his care and solicitude, while people's fidelity is found in their loyalty to the leader.

He deems it his lofty duty above all to take good care of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who were faithful to General Kim Il Sung on the path of exploring the cause of Juche, and of those related to General Kim Il Sung's revolutionary activities in those days and of their families.

Let me introduce here an impressive letter which tells how dutiful and humble he is towards the revolutionary forerunners who were active at the dawn of the cause of Juche, how he respects them and humbles himself before them.

"Respected Comrade Rim Chun Chu,

"You are a faithful revolutionary comrade-in-arms of our leader and a comrade revered by our Party. Please accept this watch on your birthday as a token of my sincerity.

"I wish you good health, greater success in your contributions to our Party and to nation-building and happiness in your life.

From your young comrade, Kim Jong Il."

This is the letter Kim Jong Il addressed to the late anti-Japanese veteran Rim Chun Chu, then Vice-President, in March 1983, to congratulate him on his seventy-first birthday. In connection with his 70th birthday, the previous year, he suddenly recalled Rim Chun Chu from a foreign tour and awarded him the title of Hero of the Republic. Splendid banquet was given by the government on his 70th birthday in acknowledgement of his devotion to the cause of Juche.

When another anti-Japanese veteran, Kim Il, who was Vice-President for a long period, contracted a serious disease, he paid a call on him and cheered him up, saying that we had a lot of things to do in the future, and so the revolutionary veterans who had assisted the leader from the years of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle should live long in good health, and that then the younger generation would feel assured and work better. And during his surgical operation, Kim Jong Il held his hand until it was over. At the time, he said he did not mind if it took a hundred hours, instead of several hours.

Here is another story. On November 5, 1981, he rang up an official, and asked him whether he knew that mother Jang Chol Gu, an anti-Japanese fighter, was ill. He said: "Mother Jang Chol Gu was a guerrilla who cooked for the leader in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. You are living a good life now and seem to have forgotten our roots."

After inquiring about her sickness and life in detail, he took relevant measures to help her. She passed away, although he looked after her like her son. Deeply grieved, he put aside his work and personally looked into the preparations for her funeral. He directed where her bier should be placed, where she should be buried, who would be pallbearers and where the goods needed for funeral were to be obtained. Then he visited the place where her bier was lying and, although his kind concern had enabled her to live till she was over eighty, was as sorrowful as if she had died due to lack of sincerity on his part. He even regretted having sent her a cook beatifiedly knowing that she was living alone.



This sort of thing is not limited to a few particular anti-Japanese veterans. He treats revolutionary forerunners with great reverence; at national celebrations and banquets, revolutionary veterans are always invited to sit in the front seats; on red letter days he sends valuable gifts and on New Year Days he sends greetings to them.

Thus he is extremely dutiful to the revolutionary forerunners. This makes the people respect him deeply.

In the socialist theory of politics, one's attitude towards revolutionary forerunners who were loyal to the leader is considered a touchstone that distinguishes the true successor to the revolution from the renegade. Kim Jong Il shows himself a lofty example of the genuine revolutionary, the revolutionary leader of the second generation who gives special treatment to the revolutionary elders, so never forgetting the fundamentals of the revolution in this respect.

His warm feelings of duty are also revealed in the fact that he discovered not only the anti-Japanese veterans residing in north Korea but also family members of revolutionary martyrs and overseas Koreans connected with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle led by President Kim Il Sung. He has fulfilled his duty to the martyrs who died without seeing victory through his particular favour to their children.

He showed such kind concern to old man Hwang Kwŏn Hon, who joined the revolutionary organization formed and led by President Kim Il Sung nearly seventy years before and actively assisted him in the early period of his revolutionary activities, taking part in the struggle against the laying of the Jilin-Hoeryong railway line by the Japanese imperialists and in the movement to boycott Japanese goods in the 1920s. Hwang Kwŏn Hon returned to the homeland with his descendants of four generations on the eve of President Kim Il Sung's 70 birthday. An old woman, Ri Jang Chong, aged over 80 who had assisted Kim Hyong Jik, the grandfather of Kim Jong Il, in his revolutionary activities, and the seventy-year old Ryu Chun Gwong, who had actively supported Kim Il Sung when she was carrying out revolutionary activities in the Kalun and Goryushu areas, returned home with their families. Like this, large numbers of people connected with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle returned to the homeland and are now enjoying a happy life in the evening of their lives. They owe this entirely to Kim Jong Il's love and sense of duty.

His noble sense of duty was also expressed in the construction of the

Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery on Mt. Taesong in Pyongyang, as a monument of everlasting glory to the departed anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and to people connected with the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. In June 1984, when the project to enlarge the cemetery was in full swing, he climbed Jujak Peak on Mt. Taesong and raised the question of conscience as he inspected the busts made of artificial marble and light alloy materials produced by north Korean artists and technicians. If the busts of the martyrs, he went on, are made of artificial marble, the people might mistake it for stone, and thus would make us feel guilty for using artificial marble for the busts of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters who dedicated their youth and lived singlemindedly for the sake of the leader in the difficult days of the anti-Japanese struggle. Examining a model made of light alloy, he remarked what would posterity think of us if we used light alloy, and added that it seemed to him best to use bronze for the busts.

He also gives love and shows particular concern for the children of the revolutionary forefathers, regarding this as his duty. He accepted this as his duty and fidelity to the revolutionary martyrs. In April 1980, he in person recommended a girl as the second daughter-in-law of anti-Japanese veteran Hwang Sun Hui, at present the rector of the Korean Revolutionary Museum, and prepared the wedding table for them. Speaking at the place where all her family gathered, he recalled what President Kim Il Sung had said one day when looking back on the wedding day of anti-Japanese veterans Hwang Sun Hui and Ryu Kyong Su during the anti-Japanese war in the mountains. President Kim Il Sung had put on the wedding table the rice which Comrade Kim Jong Suk had saved to provide for the worst eventualities, saying that as we were fighting in the mountains, that was all he could do for the newlyweds. But when they would marry their sons and daughters in the future, after the country was liberated, we would spread lavish table for them. But Ryu Kyong Su, the husband of Hwang Sun Hui, had left us too early and was not here to see this day.

Listening to the President's words, Kim Jong Il said he determined he would personally see to the wedding ceremony of the children of Ryu Kyong Su and Hwang Sun Hui. Hwang shed tears, moved by the warm affection shown by Kim Jong Il in place of President Kim Il Sung.

Let me recall one more impressive tale.

On August 11, 1994, when the entire people of north Korea were deeply

depressed at the sudden demise of President Kim Il Sung, a celebration banquet took place in Pyongyang in honour of the 80th birthday of Son Won Thae, one of Kim Il Sung's friends in the days of anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and now an overseas Korean resident in the USA—the younger brother of Son Won Il, who was once the defence minister of the Syngman Rhee "government" of south Korea.

President Kim Il Sung had met again after a lapse of 60 years Son Won Thae, the son of Son Jong Do who had shown him kindness in the years of his revolutionary activity in Jilin. At this meeting, President Kim Il Sung suggested celebrating the latter's 80th birthday in the homeland and promised that he would act like his elder brother in preparing his birthday banquet and invite his children, kith and kin to his birthday celebration. In keeping with this promise, Kim Jong Il prepared splendid birthday banquet for him attended by his family, relatives and friends. The large jewel picture "Crane" the late President had ordered as a birthday present to him, as well as a basket of flowers, the birthday cake and birthday presents sent by Kim Jong Il were given to him. The white-haired, overseas Korean was moved to tears, carried away by the warmth of a pure and faithful sense of duty manifested by Kim Jong Il, who arranged a grand banquet for him in celebration of his 80th birthday at the time the whole country was thrown into the sea of sorrow, although he had contributed nothing to speak of in his lifetime for the benefit of his motherland. Therefore, Son Won Thae adored Kim Jong Il as a "man of great mercy and compassion". He said from the bottom of his heart.

"Dear Fellow Countrymen, dry your tears, please. Another great father is sent to our nation."

History abounds in tales about men of great eminence seen from the angle of the relations between the sovereign and subjects, between friends.

However none but Kim Jong Il has declared that he defined the relations between leader and masses as a comradeship relationship, the relationship of duty based on love and loyalty, not as the relationship between ruler and ruled; he has taught that one should trust and love one's comrades before demanding trust from comrades, and one should devote oneself to the welfare of the masses. Considering this duty incumbent upon the leader, he has adopted it as his unshakable outlook on the masses and his philosophy of love for the masses.

He lavishes affection upon the people with whom he became intimate

on the road of revolution, disregarding where they work and whether they are on the higher and lower rungs of the social ladder.

When he was on an on-the-spot guidance tour in a mountainous area, he received the sad news of the death of Sim Chang Wan, an official of a central organ who had been enjoying his special concern. As soon as the news was confirmed, after his repeated inquiries, he canceled his schedule for the day and suggested going back to Pyongyang.

But it was pouring with rain with lightning flashing across the sky and thunder roaring. Dykes were destroyed, rivers overflowing and roads flooded and bridges submerged. Helicopters were unable to take to the air because of the danger of being struck by lightning. But he went out, defying the drenching rain. He crossed the narrow-gauge railway bridge 26 metres high and a hundred metres long step by step and climbed up and down the hills covering a distance of scores of ri and reached the place where his car was waiting for him. Then he hastened to Pyongyang. He paid a visit to the bier of the deceased and, choking with sobs, called his name over and over again and, turning aside his face, dried his tears with his handkerchief. He stayed for a long time at the side of the deceased, as if to carve the image of his beloved soldier eternally in his mind. Kim Jong Il's image itself was the symbol of noble duty.

His duty is a model of revolutionary fidelity which transcends individual friendships. It is a feeling of unconditional and nondiscriminatory duty towards comrades who are one and same with him in pursuing the same goals and along the path of revolution. Just as his politics is all-embracing politics, his duty, too, is all-embracing duty.

A worker at the Tanchon quarry in South Hamgyong Province which produced the stone needed in the construction of Pyongyang was badly injured in an accident. He was in a critical condition when sent to a famous hospital in the capital where he was miraculously restored to life after the passage of 15 days.

Emergency measures were taken on the advice of Kim Jong Il, which ran as follows:

The vehicles used for transportation of the patient: a helicopter and a passenger plane.

The organs which undertook the treatment and transport of the patient: the hospital attached to the Pyongyang University of Medicine, the Tanchon City People's Hospital, and Pyongyang Civil Aviation.

The formation of a medical group to give first aid to the patient: over 100 doctors and nurses, including more than ten academicians, professors, doctors and bachelors

The medicines used for the treatment of the patient: seventy-two expensive medicines, including musk and broad spectrum antibiotics

The blood transfusion: 5.7 litres

The sum total of the money sent for the treatment: about 150,000 dollars

When south Korea was struck by floods in 1984 the US and Japan, as her allies, granted her 120,000 dollars as relief funds. This helps one see how great was his benevolence towards a worker.

Since he considers love for and trust in the masses as duty that is above politics, he has left a legend: on July 11, 1994, when the country was submerged in a sea of tears over the loss of the father President Kim Il Sung, he organized a group of competent doctors and nurses and sent a plane to save the lives of newborn triplets in a village near the Military Demarcation Line. Before that, when the wife of a writer was suffering from an obstinate disease, he personally hunted an animal on a chilly winter day, knowing that its blood was good for curing her disease, and thus helped her regain her health. A leading functionary who had been to a foreign country for a long time to cure his hypertension returned home earlier than expected, being worried about the high medical fees. Informed of this, he said: "What logic is it that he has returned because of a doctor's bill. If he gets well, I would not mind paying all the money I have. Why did he leave the hospital before consulting with me? Man dies because he is short-lived, not because he wants money. He has my backing, hasn't he?"

And he did his utmost so that the man might recover his health.

His fiery sense of duty towards revolutionary comrades climaxed in what has become a contemporary legend. He welcomed back Ri In Mo who was released unconverted after serving a 34-year-long prison term as a war correspondent of the Korean People's Army, into the embrace of the Workers' Party of Korea and saw to it that he was transformed from an invalid into a healthy man.

Greeting the first anniversary of his repatriation to the north, Kim Jong Il said:

"...What was our Party's intention when it had suggested the repatria-

tion of Ri In Mo one year ago? That he was a soldier who fought for the fatherland in prison for a period of 34 years. And that although the situation was very strained and a semi-war condition existed, it amounted to discharging our obligation to a revolutionary comrade when we took Ri In Mo home. He is our comrade who had fought for 30 to 40 years, placing his hopes on us. If we did not rescue him, who else would do so? A revolutionary must possess a sense of justice. This means the same as life to the revolutionary. I had previously read a story in a foreign book that when Napoleon attacked Moscow, a multitude of French soldiers were killed or captured as prisoners of war. But Napoleon was replaced by another monarch, who refused to admit the French prisoners of war captured in Napoleon's time, when he was notified of their repatriation. Reading this story, I thought to myself that the reason for the miserable fate of the French prisoners of war was, above all, that they were unlucky in not having a good leader. When the repatriation of Ri In Mo was put on the order of the day, I recalled this story once again and made up my mind to take him back by all means. So we have succeeded, though with difficulty, in bringing him back home by developing a struggle. The world has numerous stories about the struggle in prison of revolutionaries, but it does not know about the revolutionaries who fought all their lives for 30 to 40 years behind prison bars in south Korea, adhering to their revolutionary principles. We must not forget the comrades who fought in south Korea and we must be faithful to our moral duty toward them. I think this is the love our Party can give to the soldiers."

He had Ri In Mo, once dubbed a "fossil man", completely restored to health, let him sit at the side of the President on the platform at the national meeting of veteran soldiers, invited him to sit on the platform at the military parade held in celebration of victory day, helped him enjoy a happy family life and boundless happiness, and renamed the primary school in his native village the "Ri In Mo Primary School" in order to immortalize his name in history. Hoping to see him celebrate his birthday which had passed miserably in the south Korean prisons, with love he sent him food, fruit and wines for a birthday party. Upon receiving this bedding, a gift from overseas Koreans, he sent them to Ri In Mo, saying that not once had Ri warmed himself under bedclothes in the south Korean prisons. And he saw to it that the feature film *The Nation and Destiny* and the documentary *The Incarnation of Faith and Will* based on Ri In Mo's story were made. No



words or letters, however extravagant, can give a full account of his love for and duty toward Ri In Mo, a revolutionary soldier

Ri In Mo dedicated the following poem to Kim Jong Il who had revitalized him so blissfully

*In the air I breathe  
In the sunrays warming my body  
Your love over flows  
Your love is in my front room,  
Your love is in my back room  
Upstairs and downstairs,  
Your love is everywhere.*

*You treasure me infinitely  
You pay high tribute to the deeds I have done,  
You have given me everything in the world,  
Yet you want to give me more ...*

*I wonder that such great love  
Really exists in the world.  
I, a man thrown into a world bereft of love,  
Am now over seventy  
And I understand your love,  
Albeit belatedly, I weep*

*Oh, dear Comrade Kim Jong Il,  
You, a man with such warm love,  
Are the incarnation of a great love.*

The south Korean paper *Hangyore Sunmun* dated March 22, 1994, commented, "In fact, if the old man Ri In Mo's thanks for the hospitality he was accorded on his return to his native place was this dedicated poem it was none too much. And no matter how many poems he dedicated to Kim Jong Il, it will be none too many thanks."

Since Kim Jong Il is so dutiful to the people, he is revered and loved by the masses. The popular masses, not to mention the comrades working beside him, respect him, and their fondness for him leads to this respect.

They believe in him unconditionally and trust their destiny to him without hesitation. His noble revolutionary duty serves as the centripetal force for the unity of the leader and the soldiers, the leader and the masses.

### 3. A Singular Enthusiast

Man's ardour is the source of vitality that transforms nature and society. Man's passion gushing forth towards lofty ideals is the surging enthusiasm for struggle, a swelling spiritual force and an outburst of energy. Borrowing the literary expression, many people liken passion to a raging heart, to a volcanic eruption and to a torrential stream. It is the key to the success of all undertakings. It is regarded as a particularly important quality for a political leader. Machiavelli advocated courage and strength, and Max Weber emphasized the passion one pours into the job one has chosen. It is true that there is no genius without passion. Every great man in history who distinguished himself is without exception a man of strong emotions.

President Kim Il Sung pointed out that Kim Jong Il was possessed of a rare burning enthusiasm. None could match Kim Jong Il in fervour, and he worked with energy both in his office and at home.

Day and night, he carries on official affairs with inexhaustible energy.

Man is a living organism, so he requires rest in order to maintain life and to continue to work through regeneration of consumed energy. In other words, having a rest is compared to winding the spring of a clock. That is why man works in the daytime and rests at night. But Kim Jong Il's ardour defies such laws governing man's existence and life. His everyday life has no time for rest breaks. In the daytime he gives on-the-spot guidance to many work units, and chairs consultative meetings of responsible workers from different branches. All night till dawn, he reads written reports and information which have come from the lower units and manuscripts of important editorials and articles for the organ of the WPK, and scenarios of films to be shot. When on tours for on-the-spot guidance, he carries a large briefcase full of papers and runs his eyes over them in the car and in the lounge of the assembly building. It is said that the documents he reads in this way have increased day by day, so his aide has changed his briefcase

for a longer one four times. One day, he came out of his office, a briefcase bulging with documents under his arm, and set out on a journey scheduled to return the same day. When an official reminded him that he had had not a wink of sleep the night before so he should put aside the briefcase and at least have a doze in the car he remarked that some people say they feel at ease when they have prepared good meals to take on a journey, but he is pleased to take a briefcase full of documents with him.

Work itself is rest for him, and when he is faced with a task, he feels at ease, and strength surges through him. I believe I am not mistaken if I consider this his philosophy of life. So he likes to meet the officials who visit him with problems rather than those who plead with him to have a rest.

In April 1976, being unable to decline the advice of his entourage, he was taking a holiday, when he summoned a designer. The designer went to see him, taking no plans, since he had not been summoned to his office. Regretting seeing him come without blueprints, Kim Jong Il remarked, "Who is a great eater is pleased with a supply of food, a real worker is happy when he is given an assignment. I don't permit anyone to flatter me, but if one courts my favour with a new task I will gladly favour him." Two days later, the designer was summoned again. This time he took blueprints for more than ten important projects.

Much satisfied at his arrival with a thick roll of blueprints, Kim Jong Il said

"One does not feel tired when one is doing the work he likes. As I always tell you, working is rest for me. I feel comfortable when I get down to work."

Laughing heartily, he added that previously he had given the designer low marks since he had appeared without blueprints, but he made up for it this time by coming with a load of work. As this incident shows, Kim Jong Il is a man of great energy.

The revolutionary anecdote, "A Doze", tells how he works in earnest day and night, not wasting a second.

One day in June 1977, he gave on-the-spot guidance to an important construction project late into the night, and it was the small hours when he was on his way home.

He fell into a doze in the car. The previous night he had worked in his office forgetting to sleep, and in the daytime he had given guidance in many units, and had seen the morning break at the construction site. He

awoke after having dozed for ten minutes or so and said he felt refreshed. Previously he had not known how sweet it was to have a nap. The papers piled up but he was pressed for time, so when he was sleepy he dozed for a few minutes sitting in his chair. Thus he came to learn that dozing was very sweet.

"They say that I work without sleeping. I am also a man who cannot bear it if I go without sleep."

"To confess the 'secret' of my working without having a proper sleep, it is that I have acquired the habit of sleeping deeply for ten to fifteen minutes, and this equals two to three hours' sleep for most people. Dozing differs much from sleep, but it is very good and sweet for one to sleep off one's fatigue. I very much like to doze."

There goes an anecdote which tells the story of how Stalin paid a visit to the same army unit seven times in the three years of war to discuss and take the military measures against the imperialists' blockade, and he was given military information till the dawn.

But Kim Jong Il carries on with intensive work day after day without having a rest in a period of peace which is neither a grim period of war nor years of trial. So he deserves to be called a very picture of enthusiasm.

To be exact, one hour is sixty minutes, or three thousand six hundred seconds. But the quality and density of the time vary depending on how deeply one meditates over a matter and what great passion one pours into it during a certain space of time. If the utilization of time by ordinary people is compared to dots and dashes of the Morse code, his spending of time can be likened to a line of dense dots, topping this, many lines run in parallel in his case. In other words, if people generally utilize time as shown in a single line of dots, his time lines are three or four in parallel. It is customary for one to take up another job after finishing the previous task, and this is the regular routine for work. This is because man is limited in his thinking and judgement, in his ability and energy to carry out his task.

But Kim Jong Il seems to have the knack of utilizing his time in a three dimensional way when dealing with a mountain of work. In fact he does different sorts of work simultaneously in an extremely brief span of time, while another would take two or three times the time to do the tasks separately. Here is one instance.

One day an official entered his office to give him an urgent report. With a melody filling the air of the office, Kim Jong Il was scribbling his opin-

ions on the paper which he had just finished reading. At that moment the telephone bell rang. Having signed to his visitor to take a seat, he took up the receiver. After listening for a while, he gave his opinion over the wire regarding the questions raised, while continuing to put down his views on the paper. Finally he affixed the date and his signature to the paper and at the same time replaced the receiver on the rest. Having thus finished two jobs simultaneously, he spread the next paper on his table and began examining it while listening to the official's report about fulfilment of assignments. He made detailed comments on the matters raised in the report and gave the official a new task. Just then the recorded song ended. He rang up a functionary working in the field of art and, pointing to every line of the song from the first to the third verse, which he had just heard, said what he liked and what he disliked, and advised him how to revise it. At the same time, he signed a second document. The official was utterly amazed to see Kim Jong Il do so many things at the same time. Mark is quoted as having said, "Although we struggle for the eight hour workday, we often work twice as long as that in a day." Kim Il is said to have worked out a document while presiding over a meeting.

But Kim Jong Il disposes of very complicated problems in a very short time. He does everything in this manner. Guiding a meeting on economic affairs, he worked on the plot of a new opera in his mind. Amidst the busy hours of his on the spot guidance at the construction site of a power plant, he signed many papers which he had brought with him. The eight hour workday of an ordinary person is doubled and tripled in Kim Jong Il's case. In addition to this gift of genius, his work is overflowing with an ardour several times stronger than anyone else's.

The great leap made in the political, economic and cultural fields of north Korea in the past 30 years, ever since his appearance on the stage of history, is rated as the fruit of his energetic activity.

In the initial period of his guidance in the field of art and literature in north Korea, five operas, which are called revolutionary operas, quite different from traditional operas, were produced in the brief span of a year or so. Traditionally the production of an opera requires a few years and in some countries, it has been said that an expert has taken nearly 10 years to become popular in the opera world. Considering this as world opera critics admit, this was a miracle due to the energetic guidance of Kim Jong Il. In those days, he heard 1,000 to 2,000 arias to select only 30 for the revolution-

ary opera *The Sea of Blood*; over 2,700 arias for 38 for the revolutionary opera *The Flower Girl*; and over 10,000 to choose 39 songs for the revolutionary opera *The Fate of a Self-Defence Corps Man*. Thus he helped to polish these works by selecting fine arias the way one would pick up gems on a long stretch of sandy beach. From this story alone one can easily imagine how zealous he is.

He initiated and directed in person the construction of Ragwon Street which opened the door to modern housing construction in north Korea, and prepared to commence on the construction of Changgwang Street when the former project was still in full swing. When the next project was proceeding apace, he planned the building of Munsu Street and pushed ahead with its preparations. Building Munsu Street was equal to constructing a new city, so none could suggest other projects. But he proposed building the Tower of the Juche Idea, the Arch of Triumph and the Ice Rank in succession. In this way, the grand construction which changed the look of Pyongyang has been carried out successfully over the past ten years. This is entirely due to his unexcelled ardour and energy.

A north Korean designer said, "Designing is creation and that is an off-spring of fervour. That is why people call us men of ardour and dreams. Their comment is not wide of the mark, I guess. But, even though a hundred and a thousand designers pool their enthusiasm and fantasies, it is difficult to reach one hundredth or one thousandth of Kim Jong Il's."

The Arch of Triumph, the largest in the world, the world highest Tower of the Juche Idea, the West Sea Barrage with an eight kilometre long dam unprecedented in the history of lock-gate construction, the grand May Day Stadium with 150,000 seats—all these are monumental structures born of the fiery enthusiasm with which he mounted uninterrupted and adamant attack and offense.

Touring every corner of the country from the industrial district of north Hamgyong Province to the cooperative farms of South Hwanghae Province from the Sangwon Cement Factory to the funfair and recreation grounds, he commands military and diplomatic activities positively and flexibly to cope with the tense situation. This, I should say, is superhuman.

What then is the spring of his passion, so fresh and powerful? To find the answer to this is essential. I think, to grasp his great personality.

As we interviewed him, speak as one of the animated and vibrant spirit



emanating from his body. His farsighted hopes and objectives are precisely the fount of his ardour. The farmer's sweat manures the soil to reap bumper crops. The navigator or the scientist discovers a new land and opens the door to an unknown world through their devoted efforts. In other words, one's hopes and aims condition one's enthusiasm.

Kim Jong Il's ambition is to successfully carry forward and accomplish the Juche-oriented cause of President Kim Il Sung and to demonstrate the great might of Korea as the most splendid country in the world. Such a far-reaching design and clear aim are clearly manifested in the poem, *Korea, I Will Cause Thee to Shine*. His grand hope to make our nation and the country shine throughout the world has turned him into a man of inexhaustible energy.

Looking back on the days when he was directing the field of the arts and literature, he remarked.

"One must be ambitious. This does not mean jealous intrigue but the desire to excel in work.... To tell the truth, our aim in guidance in the film world was to produce world-famous films, and our aim in guidance in the realm of music was to create world-acclaimed operas."

Such ardent desire gave him extraordinary passion and thus ushered in "Renaissance in the 20th Century" and placed north Korea under floodlights as the "Kingdom of Art".

Warm passion is a natural spiritual feature based on one's faith in the righteousness of one's cause and in ultimate victory.

Kim Jong Il firmly believes that his far reaching objective is the task entrusted by the age and history, the mission entrusted by the nation and the masses, and that every undertaking he plans and carries out will without fail emerge victorious. This induces him to display a superhuman spirit. In particular, one should not miss the point that what underlies his extraordinary fervour is his faith in and allegiance to President Kim Il Sung. He insists that whimsical spirit and enthusiasm are "short lived" but the revolutionary enthusiasm based on one's faith in and loyalty to the President does not abate and musters in one boundless strength. He attaches particular importance to this problem.

"Even if I work hard for ten days without sleeping at night, it is nothing at all as compared to the pain experienced by our leader. Such thoughts drive me to fresh exertions. Then I emerge from heavy exhaustion and feel fresh strength surging inside me. Probably it is because I was inspired by

the consciousness of my duty to realize our revolutionary cause initiated by our leader who went through a sea of blood and a fiery furnace in the anti-Japanese war."

Since his spirit and energy have thus arisen from his faith in and loyalty to the President, they are so fervent and inspiring and serve as the motive power which works miracles.

Marx noted that if one exerts oneself for one's own benefit one may become a noted scholar, an excellent poet and a renowned genius, but it is impossible for one to become a man of great eminence in the true sense of the word. Without a doubt Kim Jong Il is a great man since he pours his whole heart, energy and will into sacred cause of independence for the people.

#### 4. A Man of Sentiment

Generally a leader must be a man among men. It is true that he must acquire rare farsightedness, the ability to command and an iron will. But the heartless leader obsessed by high-handed and cold authoritarianism cannot hold his people in his embrace and cannot make them his followers. A leader must at all times become the man of fervour and emotions. But generally, a statesman, once he comes to power is apt to change into a Bismarck-type politician who advocates only authoritarianism, absolutizes ranks and classes and is without kindness and humanity.

However Kim Jong Il loves the masses with deep-down warmheartedness, and this finds consummation in his philosophy of benevolence, reaching sublime and infinite heights.

His kindheartedness is what deeply impresses people. An old maxim had it that a fish lives in water and man amidst human love. Human love is the warm feelings that flow between people. To put it more clearly, one feels another's pain as one's own, one helps him and shares his misfortune, the sweet and the bitter. Humanity, that is sympathy and love for man, is the basis of human emotions.

Kim Jong Il was kindhearted from childhood. One day, right after the war, he went out to the suburbs of Pyongyang and saw an old man having

difficulty carrying a load of firewood. He took his load over to the old man's house. And he learned that the old man was in great trouble since he had no one to help him. After that, Kim Jong Il and his friends frequently gathered firewood in the mountains to help the old man.

In his middle school days, one of his classmates failed to do his homework well because he did not have a drawing set, so the teacher reproved the pupil. This weighed on Kim Jong Il's mind and finally he gave him his drawing instruments. When he needed them he used his friend's. If anyone did not have notebooks he would give him his notebooks. And he made notebooks for himself by folding printed papers, the unprinted side out.

In recollecting his schooldays Ri Yong Il, his classmate and the son of composer Ri Myon Sang, said that one winter immediately after the ceasefire, he could not afford to buy skates so he would borrow them from other boys. One day one of his friends promised his skates to him, but he kept on skating as if forgetting his promise. Quite upset, Yong Il returned home and bothered his parents for skates. But his parents could not buy them for him. When Kim Jong Il heard this, he asked for a pair of skates and felt relieved after giving them to him. Once Kim Jong Il knew somebody was down at heart or in trouble he could not get to sleep, and he was glad to give away his things to others though it caused him inconvenience. Touched by her son's kindness, mother Kim Jong Suk said that her son, Jong Il, seemed a born sympathizer.

The godhearted disposition shown in his university days and in the course of dealing with Party and state affairs has evolved into a unique philosophy, that is, he has embraced the broad masses with his wide, warm arms.

"Man is endowed with a precious thing, that is love. Man should be possessed of love. Man without love is not man in the true sense. That sort of man is little better than a flower without fragrance and a tree without foliage. A man without love is no better than a callous, heartless creature." This is his conception of love.

Once he gave field guidance to a cooperative farm in Sachon County, South Hwanghae Province. He was shown round by the aged chairman of the farm management board and reached the courtyard of the management board where the chairman and he stood feasting their eyes on the fields beautiful in the setting sun and on the smoke rising from the chimneys of the farmhouses. His guide told him that it was past the time to depart but,

nodding, he showed no sign of leaving. He seemed very downhearted at saying good-bye to the chairman, and suddenly Kim Jong Il suggested taking supper with him and led him towards the car. During the meal he helped the chairman to food and when the meal was over, he tried to cheer him up.

The chairman had a wound hard to heal in his heart. During the Korean war he had lost his family, nine in all, including three sons. Hard worker as he was, he eagerly wished Kim Jong Il to stay with him even ten minutes longer. Reading his mind, Kim Jong Il felt deep compassion for him. Although the pile of documents and the tense schedule of the day pressed him to leave without delay, the swelling of love for the chairman stayed his legs.

Kim Jong Il is said to be easily moved to tears. People speak of a "mother's love and father's strictness", but Kim Jong Il is easily moved to tears since he is godhearted like a mother and duty-bound like a father in his relations with his comrades and the masses.

Touching upon this emotional aspect of his character, President Kim Il Sung said: "Kim Jong Il not only has feeling heart but is also easily moved to tears; he always wears a smile on his face, but when unhappy things happen he sheds tears like a child, I am prone to weep, so is he. It is not bad for a man to have a sensitive heart; the coldhearted man does not drop a tear, though he should weep; the hero who is sensitive and who can weep is a true hero."

In June 1981, one of his close officials died of an incurable disease. Every time his close comrades pass away it is painful for him to endure. He easily yields to sorrow. Speaking in this way he added: "I first thought to write them memorial address for the deceased. But blinding tears prevented me from doing so. Therefore, you comrades, must write a fine memorial address, paying the revolutionary comrades' tribute to the work and merits of the deceased and reflecting my grief on this loss." When an ordinary playwright died, he was in tears, saying that he might have saved him if he had been concerned about him, and that it was a great pity that his life had ended. Although he is a man of daring, he is so tender and weak in the face of another's misfortunes.

When a designer died while working on the automation of the production processes at the Hwanghae Iron Works, he was deeply grieved at the loss. Concerned about the designer's children, he said that probably, school

being over, the children must be returning to a home empty of their father and he sent them a colour television set hoping that it might ease their aching hearts. When the heroic deeds of a platoon leader at the Pongchon Coa. Mine, who had laid down his life in making a breakthrough in coal production, was made known to the public, Kim Jong Il did not let him sink into oblivion but awarded high commendations to him and his bereaved family and granted them government welfare. The designer Kim Un Bong, a repatriate from Japan, passed away long ago. But Kim Jong Il remembered him as one who had made noticeable contributions and he showed him great favours, including conferring the title of hero upon him. Indeed his everyday routine begins and continues with his benevolence towards the masses of all strata. And every step he takes leaves the deep imprint of his warm love for the masses, like the annual rings of a tree. It is said the sky is wider than the sea and that a man's heart is broader than the sky. In fact his love is wider than the sky, deeper than the sea.

One aspect of his laudable character is that he is meticulous and delicate in every matter.

The French writer, Vauvenargues, said that a great man is also great in trifling matters. This assertion is regarded by the people as an ideal to live up to, but they hardly think that it is possible to find such a man. Because the terms "great man" or "broad-minded person" or "man of calibre" are understood as the concept conflicting with or far from the meaning of meticulousness. Traditionally the "great man" was hardly soft and tender-hearted. In this respect, Kim Jong Il, as a great man in history, is undoubtedly the consummate great man, a faultless man of great eminence.

One winter day in 1978, he was told that the director of the General Bureau for the Reception of Overseas Compatriots had a little family party to celebrate the wedding of his son who had been crippled in a US air raid when he was two years old. Deeply sympathetic towards the crippled son, Kim Jong Il said that he must have lived with deep shadows in his mind, and the modest wedding party must have made him particularly sad about his fate. Kim Jong Il wanted to ease the wound of his heart and sent the family a new wedding feast to greet the happy union of the new couple.

On his advice, a leading functionary working in construction had to leave to recuperate in a sanatorium. Seeing that he was reluctant to go and leave a lot of work behind, Kim Jong Il emphasized that the building work could be put off for a year but one should not delay medical treatment. If

we have people, we can build houses any time we like. Then he himself kept the papers regarding the construction of an important building and returned them to the functionary when he was back with health restored.

Let me tell one more story to illustrate his meticulousness.

At the end of 1979, north Korean farmers and those engaged in agriculture received padded coats as a gift from President Kim Il Sung. Hidden behind this supply of padded winter coats to millions of north Korean farmers could be found the minute care and efforts of Kim Jong Il who gladly took the assignment upon himself. He appeared at a fashion show. He examined scores of styles for both sexes and for different ages and listened to the opinions of the farmers on colorful coats before giving the following directions to the workers:

First, the styles of the padded coats be chosen in accordance with the farmers' opinions.

Second, the back of the coat be thickly padded.

Third, nylon windproof sleeves be added.

Fourth, a triangular hood be affixed.

Fifth, the cotton-padded coats be made in two varieties, quilted and not quilted.

Sixth, various colours be chosen.

Seventh, the coats be long and short in length.

Eighth, the coats be buttoned or zipped.

Lastly they be supplied before New Year's Day.

After issuing these minute directives, he looked relieved of his worries and a smile wreathed his face. It was the smile of a happy mother who was able to dress her children up for the New Year and take them out into company.

This happened when he inspected the flats of the modern apartment houses built along Changgwang Street in Pyongyang. He was enjoying the street scenes from a verandah when suddenly his eye was caught by the drain hole in the verandah which was raised a little from the floor. Saying that it should be on a level with the floor, he took the matter seriously. He went on, "This is not a practical question of whether one pays attention to such a minor thing. Although it is insignificant and a trifling thing, it reveals the attitude and thinking of our officials." In fact the height of the hole was not a question worth mentioning. But he taught the leading functionaries that they should do everything no matter, whether we notice it or



not, whether it is big or small—with great care and without a flaw, with a feeling for the people who are to live in the apartment houses. This is what one should do and think as servants of the masses.

His meticulous care and character differ from other people's habits of carefulness in that they represent his love for the masses. This arouses admiration and pulls at the people's heartstrings.

His rich emotions are given to the masses, too. Goethe, the prime minister of the Weimar Dukedom was the great writer of *Faust*; Sibelius, the composer of *Finlandia*, was elected the first President of Finland; Churchill once called the British Lion, was a devotee of the fine arts and on a professional level at that. Thus there have been leaders widely known in history for their deep emotions. However, they were mostly artists by profession, and in other cases their hobbies were related to the mental aspect of their private lives.

Kim Jong Il loves novels and poems, is deeply interested in athletics and more knowledgeable in the arts and architecture than professional artists and architects. What we should not miss here is that his tastes, hobbies, love and emotions reflect the desires and aspirations of the masses.

In front of the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital lies a wonderful garden with beautiful blossoms in spring, thick foliage in summer, crimson and golden leaves in autumn and trees heavy with snow in winter.

On September 13, 1979, he visited the construction site of this hospital to give on-the-spot guidance. He told the officials that at first it was planned to build important buildings around the hospital but then he changed the original plan. He thought it necessary to give the hospital a garden. He made this meaningful statement on that occasion.

"Our people still feel very diffident, so a husband is often timid in presenting a flower to his wife in public. So it is necessary to build a park dense with foliage so that the husbands may give flowers to their wives in private and spend happy hours fondling the baby in their arms.

"You need not think you have to take the mother and baby home immediately. It is not bad for visitors to wait in the garden before accompanying the mother and baby home.

"Such emotions are required in life."

Thus a splendid park was built at his suggestion, and there the mothers blush to receive fragrant flowers when they come out of the hospital gate, the baby in their arms, and merry laughter is heard from the groups of

happy families overjoyed at the birth of the newborn.

It was September 1969. Riding along a suburban road in Pyongyang, Kim Jong Il stopped the car at the mouth of a valley and proposed to the accompanying officials that they go chestnutting and enjoy the scenery, though they were busy. Pointing to the dense chestnut woods in the valley, he said that year the chestnuts were unusually abundant, every tree was heavily laden with chestnuts, the rippling brook was murmuring with joy. This marvelous scenery could inspire a painter to produce a masterpiece. Such scenery thrills him and he feels fresh strength rise within himself. He loves such scenery the most. He loves country scenes, full of life, which make the people happy and beckon them into its peaceful embrace, and he regards the beautiful scenery of the country as the fortune of the masses, and there he expounds his grand ambition to make the motherland flourish and thrive in the future.

His emotions are tied up with thoughts about flowers. He says that people love fragrant flowers and that the rose is beautiful and smells sweet, that is why people love it. But there is a flower more beautiful than the rose, that is the cotton blossom which is the one he likes best. Once, a woman worker asked him if he was really fond of the cotton blossom. Answering her with a smile, he remarked: "The cotton blossom has no fragrance and is not gorgeous. But it gives the people good cotton. Although it gives such benefit to the people, it does not mind being noticed. Rather it looks as though it is blushing, its flower only peeping out and hanging over the stem. I feel more attached to it and am fond of it since it is shy to reveal its beauty despite its great contribution." His preference for the cotton blossom shows that he is not an aesthete and one with frivolous tastes who is easily taken in by the colour and look of a flower; but he is a "masses-favouring" poet and painter. I should say he has a unique eye for the beautiful and uncommon, one that prefers modesty and purity, one that prefers what the people like and what is beneficial to them. In particular his aesthetic appreciation, worthy of a socialist leader, a people-oriented leader must be praised as one of his strong points. When we look around at contemporary leaders, it is difficult to discover such a lover of poems, songs and music as he. As already widely recognized, he is the unrivalled master of the arts and literature.

He is a born poet, he was known as such from his childhood. When he was a fifth-grader in primary school, he wrote a poem, *Our*

*Classroom*; its ideological content and poetic technique were excellent. It was placed first in a national contest of children's literary works and appeared in print in the journal *Adong Munhak*, issue No. 6 in 1954. In his primary schooldays he also wrote the poem *The Song of Blessings* and later wrote music for it himself. It was a success both in the words and music since it well reflected his feelings and the feelings of the entire people who wished President Kim Il Sung, who had heavy burden of war on his shoulders, to stay safe and live a long life in good health. Besides, he wrote many poems and words for songs, such as *My Mother* and *Korea, I Will Cause Thee to Shine* in his schooldays.

When man is likened to the sun, his feelings are its planets. As the planets which move around the sun shine differently in the sunlight, the feelings evinced by man are not alike but according to his nature. His unusual sensitivity brings out the personality of Kim Jong Il in bold relief.

A great man, Kim Jong Il! He is a modest and simple man of the people who lives among the people, respects them as teachers and bows before them, a man of sentiment who weeps when he is sad and smiles when he is happy, and a versatile leader who writes poems and composes songs.

Out of his humanity emanates love for his companions, fellow countrymen and mankind. Thus from human nature of Kim Jong Il emanates his leader feelings towards the people and a song of praise for man.

### The 21st Century and Leader Kim Jong Il

As a man lives in the age, he creates history. If history is the entity of life or the scene of life, the age is understood to be the time concept divided according to the extent of realization of the independence of mankind.

The point of view for judging the extent of realization of independence of mankind is not one and only, and the criterion for dividing the age varies. The division of the age according to dynasties by the state was a method of narration of history, or the age was divided according to cultural trends like Hellenism or the Renaissance.

Marxism divided the age by the stages of development of the productive forces.

In the 19th century, the anti-capitalist struggle of the working class which opposed the international tie-up of capital called for solidarity on an

international scale and the *Communist Manifesto* advanced the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" which reflected this and which put Marxism in bold relief as the leading ideology of the working class and as the guiding ideology of the age.

Leninism together with Marxism was established as the ideology of the time by Lenin who prepared the instrument for class liberation in the stage of imperialism by developing Marxism at the beginning of the 20th century and who established a socialist state for the first time in history on the wide territory of one sixth of the land area of the globe, so bringing to victory in Russia the first proletarian revolution.

Since then, the age has been divided according to the stage of development of the ideology of the time, and the initiator of this has held the position of leader who has led the struggle for the independence of mankind on an international scale.

Mankind has opened a new chapter of history in which the working people, who were in the past excluded from history, although they were the main agents of history, have appeared as masters on the stage of history. The new age called for a new guiding ideology.

In response to the requirements of the new age, President Kim Il Sung evolved the Juche idea, i.e., that the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction. The Juche idea regards mankind's struggle for independence as a struggle for national and class liberation and for human emancipation and clearly shows the scientific road forward to these ends by defining the present age as the age of independence—an age for carrying out the three tasks in the liberation struggle. The Juche idea fully demonstrated its truth and viability through the successful advance of the people-centred socialism set up in north Korea and the accelerated advance of the cause of independence in the world. Thus the world's progressive people praise President Kim Il Sung, the initiator of the Juche idea, as the outstanding thinker and political leader of the 20th century.

As we look back on history at the time when the 20th century is nearing its close and the 21st century is appearing on the horizon, the characteristic feature of this time is that human independence has been considerably advanced.

The birth of a socialist state in the early period of the century and the worldwide spread of socialism opened a wide road for the realization of human independence and brought about the steady development of the

struggle for national liberation everywhere in the world.

Mankind that has gone through two world wars broke the iron chains of colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America and has marked the national-liberation revolution as one of the main streams in making the world independent.

The colonial state won their independence in Asia mainly in the '50s and in Africa mainly in the '60s. With the weakening of colonialism, the barren land of human rights including racial discrimination has decreased considerably. All this can be said to be successful and characteristic features of the 20th century.

But the greatest events of the 20th century can be said to be the birth of a socialist state in the early period of the century and the collapse of socialism in several countries towards the close of the century. The appearance of a socialist state was an "event of the 20th century", whereas the collapse of socialism was a "shocking event". The shock wave caused by chain reaction in the socialist orbit in several countries on this planet was very great.

The adverse effects of this on the newly independent countries which aspired towards socialism was also great, to say nothing of the social confusion in the countries where capitalism was revived. Whereas the cold war with the Soviet Union and the United States as its two poles ended, territorial disputes between nations, disputes for concessions and division occurred so often that the globe seemed to be covered with multiple boils. The feelings of mankind that looks at the 21st century from the present juncture when so many difficult problems have to be carried forward into the next century are very complicated. Although the situation at the close of the century is complicated and prospects for the next century seem opaque, the aspirations of mankind for independence are unshakable. It is evident that the cause of independence for the world will certainly reach the other shore of victory, and steer clear of hidden rocks. The law governing the progress of history cannot be otherwise.

The cause of independence in the world is comprised of the movement for the revival of socialism, the struggle for national liberation, the building of a new society in the developing countries and the struggle for class liberation in the imperialist countries. It is true that the socialist movement is suffering a temporary setback on a worldwide scale, but when seen from the macroscopic viewpoint, the cause of independence in the world is advancing.

It is true as regards the age of independence that the 21st century is an extension of the 20th century. But it is evident that in the 21st century there will be many differences from the present century in the relation between the force aspiring after independence and the force challenging it, on an international scale and at the level of realization of the independence of mankind.

Moreover the movement for the revival of socialism, which is evident recently in some countries, can be said to act as a big variable to mark the 21st century as the age of the universal realization of independence. With the adoption of the Pyongyang Declaration in April 1992, an end was put to the ordeals of socialism and a vigorous attempt is being made to revert to socialism from the revival of capitalism. This is proved by the fact that the Pyongyang Declaration, which was adopted at the instance of north Korea and by 70 progressive political parties, secured signatures of support from over 220 political parties in three years, and the fact that the movement for the revival of socialism is growing in strength in the countries where socialism collapsed in accordance with the Pyongyang Declaration.

In Russia, on December 11, 1994, the "People's Resistance Union," an association of 75 political parties and organizations, was formed. In the report and speeches made at the inauguration meeting it was proclaimed that "the general objective of the union is to revive the Soviet Union through the all-Russian resistance of the people" and it was stressed that "the way to the revival of the Soviet Union lies in the unity of all patriotic forces", and that "all the people who fight for the revival of socialism should take Kim Jong Il's work *Socialism Is a Science* as their guide. The right of the Ukrainian Communist Party to exist, which was banned after the "August event" in 1991, has been restored. In Rumania, the Rumanian Social Labour Party and the New Rumanian Communist Party were founded by former communists, and the movement for the revival of socialism is growing. Seven Communist and Labour Parties in Yugoslavia decided to form joint leadership with a view to opposing the revival of capitalism and preserving public ownership over socialist gains and the means of production.

All this suggests that in many countries the movement for the revival of socialism is developing into a monolithic organizational union from its sporadic beginnings.

The movement for socialism in the developing countries, which shrank



under the influence of the collapse of the former Soviet Union and socialist countries, has revived. At the Second Congress of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, it was proclaimed that "Socialism is still the ideology of the party" and "Socialist construction is proclaimed as the general objective", and the party's programme and rules were amended to these ends. At the Fourth Congress of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party and at the congresses of Communist and Labour Parties on the American Continent, too, "pluralism" and the "multi-party system" were rejected and socialism is constantly advocated. In Nepal, a communist government was established for the first time in its history.

So, recent developments show that socialism is still alive as the faith of progressive mankind and holds the position of the main stream of the cause of independence in the world.

The participants in the international conference of communists held in Cyprus from December 9 to 11, 1994, issued a communique which "reaffirmed faith in the socialist future" and maintained that the "collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe is temporary and socialism can be restored". In his concluding speech, the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Cypriot Working People's Progressive Party said that the most optimistic conclusion of this conference was that it "confirmed that socialism is alive and has become the future of mankind". The newspaper, *Rodong Sinmun* of north Korea dated December 3, 1994, quoted "The Voice of America" as saying "nowadays the communist idea has not collapsed but is being revived in the world". Socialism is not only being revived but also the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for the right to existence and for social equality, and the struggle against foreign forces in such countries as south Korea under the yoke of the great powers, too, is growing stronger. In contrast, conflicts among the imperialist powers in their struggle for concessions in political, economic, military and other fields are becoming aggravated with the passage of time.

Generally speaking, socialism which has suffered setbacks, is on the way to revival with the Juche idea as its new scientific basis, and the cause of independence for the world as a whole has started to gain momentum. This is the main summing-up of the international situation seen from today's viewpoint, with the 21st century around the corner.

The independence of the working people was like a flower bud towards the close of the 19th century, which blossomed in the course of the 20th

century and withered in the cold wind of opportunism at the close of the century. But that will come into full bloom in the new sunlight of the 21st century.

In this sense the 21st century may be regarded as the golden age of the cause of independence, as the flowering time of independence on a world-wide scale.

The optimistic view on the prospects for the 21st century presupposes the appearance of a leader who will lead the age. A new age calls for a new leader, and the age advances under the leadership of an outstanding leader.

The greatness of the leader is above all the greatness of ideology. The key question in leadership over the cause of independence in the world can be said to be provision of the idea of the time.

Kim Jong Il, who assisted President Kim Il Sung for 30 odd years, has rendered immortal service by making the Juche idea the guiding idea of the age through his energetic ideological and theoretical wisdom, and his contribution to the history of thought has earned wide public acclaim. In particular, towards the close of the 20th century, with the 21st century near at hand, he has made a clear-cut analysis of the complicated world political situation and clearly indicated the road to be followed by the movement for the revival of socialism and by the cause of independence in the world.

He has explained the cause of the collapse of socialism and the reactionary nature of all manner of abuses of socialism and reaffirmed the inevitability of the ruin of imperialism and the certainty of the victory of socialism. His work *Socialism Is a Science* which synthesizes and systematizes the theory of socialism like an encyclopaedia, and which proves the truth and superiority of socialism and the inevitability of its ultimate victory, is appraised as a "nuclear-armed all-inclusive thesis of socialism". Thus he has provided the programmatic banner for the communist and socialist movement in the 21st century and an ideological guide for the cause of independence in the world.

Albarrado de Albarado, Vice-President of Kwayakil University in Ecuador, pointed out that "Comrade Kim Jong Il is a great teacher and leader who has illuminated the road to be followed by mankind in the age of independence." He went on to say, "Far-seeing wisdom illuminating the road ahead; far-sightedness which wisely makes clear the complicated political situation of the modern age—indeed Comrade Kim Jong Il is endowed with all the qualities to be envied by all leaders and is the personi-



fication of wisdom."

Today, mankind is convinced that the thinking and theory of Kim Jong Il are the guiding thought for the 21st century, and is vigorously studying and disseminating them on a worldwide scale.

Kim Jong Il has not only clearly indicated the guiding thinking for the time, but has also created the ideal model of flourishing human independence. Today, in the sense of emphasizing its philosophical basis, socialism in north Korea is called "man-centred socialism" or "people-centred Korean-style socialism" as distinct from the collapsed Soviet-style socialism of Europe.

Admiring the people-centred society set up in north Korea, former professor at the No. 1 University of Paris, France, Pierre Boudeau gave his impressions: "I would like to glorify the Democratic People's Republic of Korea led by the respected leader, His Excellency Kim Jong Il, by placing it on the Eiffel Tower." A professor at Kiev University in Ukraine, Gennaji Dmitriwitsch Bertyshev said, "The genuine socialism on the globe is the socialism of Korea. The leadership of Comrade Kim Jong Il is a model and a pride of the world."

Concerning the leadership ability of Kim Jong Il, mankind praises him as a leader for the 21st century, or as the "leader of the age" who will cause the model of the "Korean-style socialism" of north Korea to be widely copied in the world.

The prospect that the forces in defence of independence will prevail in the 21st century, and that independence will flourish throughout mankind does not mean idealistic optimism or smooth sailing. The imperialist forces will not give up their vested interests of their own accord and withdraw from the stage of history. When socialism revives on a new basis and the banner of the struggle for independence is held up higher, challenges from the reactionaries of history will redouble. Consequently, the leader of the new age must be a great man who is possessed of outstanding thinking, who is fully capable of shattering the challenge of the reactionary forces of every hue, including imperialism and hegemonism, and who is staunchly defending the cause of independence of mankind by means of superb strategy, Herculean boldness and indefatigable will.

Kim Jong Il is a great leader who represents the close of the 20th century when the bulwark of socialism has to be defended from the persistent

and three-dimensional strangulation operations of the imperialist allied forces, and who is leading the movement for the revival of socialism into the 21st century, when socialism will win universal victory.

The esteemed name of Kim Jong Il, the leader of the 21st century acclaimed by history and mankind, is the banner for and blessing of the 21st century.

## Appendix

### Major Works of the Respected Leader Kim Jong Il

1. On Some Tasks to Establish the Party's Ideological System among the Members of the Democratic Youth League
2. On Extensively Publishing and Publicizing Our Things
3. On Re-examining the Question of Unification of the Three Kingdoms
4. On the Characteristics of Modern Imperialism and Its Aggressive Nature
5. Let Us Learn Military Affairs Sincerely
6. Team Work System Is an Original Socialist Economic Management System
7. Place and Role of the County in the Building of Socialism
8. On Improving Party Guidance Relating to the Preservation of Historical Sites and Relics
9. Let Us Make Party Work through Work with People
10. Look After the People in a Responsible Manner as a Mother Would Do with Her Children
11. Let Us Strengthen Friendship and Solidarity with the Newly-Emergent Countries
12. The Democratic National Rights of Our Compatriots in Japan Must Be Completely Guaranteed
13. On Having a Correct Understanding of the Political, Moral and Material Incentives
14. Young People Must Take the Lead in the Efforts to Implement the Rural Theses
15. Let Us Make Full Preparations to Mobilize for Battle and Oppose the US Imperialists' Moves to Provoke War
16. Let Us Build Up Revolutionary Battle Sites Well
17. On Further Strengthening Education in Revolutionary Traditions among Young People and Children
18. On Properly Evaluating and Treating the Cultural Heritage of Our Nation with a Correct Viewpoint and Attitude
19. Let Us Create More Revolutionary Films Based on Socialist Life
20. Let Us Struggle Resolutely to Implement the Three Principles of National Reunification.
21. Let Us Free the Working People from Hard Labour by Automating Production
22. On the Art of the Cinema
23. On Breaking Outdated Patterns and Bringing About a Fresh Change in Party Work
24. On the Art of Opera
25. On Solidly Building Up the Revolutionary Forces and Improving and Strengthening Party Work in Keeping with the Requirements of the Present Situation
26. For the Further Development of Our Juche Art
27. Let Us Give a Strong Impetus to the Three Revolutions and Effect a Fresh Advance in Production
28. Let Us Bring About a New Turn in Socialist Construction by Increasing the Fighting Efficiency of the Party
29. On Thoroughly Establishing the System of Party Leadership
30. For the Development of Juche-Orientated Literature and Art
31. Tasks Facing the Party Committees of Province, City and County
32. Some Tasks to Improve the Work of Training Cadres of the Party
33. On the Juche Idea
34. The Workers' Party of Korea Is a Juche-Type Revolutionary Party Which Inherited the Glorious Tradition of the DIU
35. On Increasing Obedience to Socialist Laws
36. Let Us Advance under the Banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Juche Idea
37. On Further Improving the Standard of Living of the People
38. On Building Up the Revolutionary Ranks and Further Accelerating Socialist Construction
39. On Further Improving the Work of the Trade Unions
40. On Further Developing Educational Work
41. On Improving Land Management
42. On the Further Improvement of the Health Service
43. Answers to the Questions Raised by the President of Democratic Cambodia
44. On the Further Development of Science and Technology
45. On Stepping Up the Work of the Union of Agricultural Working People



46. On Some Problems of Education in the Juche Idea
47. Let Us Step Up the Three-Revolution Red Flag Movement
48. Let Us March Forward Dynamically along the Road of Socialism and Communism under the Unfaded Banner of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle
49. On Establishing the Juche Outlook on the Revolution
50. On the Art of Drama
51. Let Us All Live and Struggle like Heroes
52. On Further Developing Engineering Industry
53. The Present Times and the Tasks Facing Young People
54. On Establishing Cultured Way of Life in the Whole of Society
55. On Developing Physical Training and Sports
56. Answers to the Questions Raised by the Director of Cuban Newspaper *Granma*
57. On the Further Improvement of the Labour Administration
58. Let Us Fully Display the Korean Nation-First Idea
59. Let Us Prepare the Young People Thoroughly as Reliable Successors to the Revolutionary Cause of Juche
60. On Thoroughly Bringing About Revolutionary Turn in Light Industry
61. On Improving the Financial and Banking Affairs
62. Let Us Further Enhance the Role of Intellectuals in the Revolution and Construction
63. The Workers' Party of Korea Organizes and Guides All the Victories of Our People
64. On Having a Correct Viewpoint and Understanding of the Juche Philosophy
65. Our Socialism Centred on the Masses Shall Not Perish
66. Let Us Strengthen the Party Cell
67. On the Art of Architecture
68. On the Art of Music
69. Young Men and Women, Be the Vanguard Unfailingly Loyal to the Party and the Leader
70. On Fine Art
71. Let Us Bring About a New Turn in the Development of Science and Technology
72. Let Us Inherit and Develop the Juche-Orientated Revolutionary Traditions

73. The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of Our Party
74. Juche-Orientated Theory on Literature
75. Let Us Further Improve City Management in Accordance with the Development of the Situation
76. On the Fundamentals of Revolutionary Party Building
77. Let Us Bring the Advantages of Our People's Government into Fuller Play
78. Let Us Develop Our Youth Movement to a New, Higher Level
79. Abuses of Socialism Are Intolerable
80. Socialism Is a Science